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Kapllani Meets EEC's Christophersen in Brussels

AU1411142691 Tirana ATA in English 0912 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Tirana, November 14 (ATA)—The Albanian foreign minister, Muhamet Kapllani, was received in Brussels by the deputy president of the European Community Commission, Christophersen. After expressing his wishes for Albania's status to profit from the aids and cooperation with the G-24 [Group of 24] and its participation in the G-24 meeting, Christophersen pointed out that the European Community understands the difficulties Albania is undergoing as well as its need for aids from the European Community and the G-24 in this period of transition, for the development of the reform and the democratic processes. In this context, he went on, the European Community is looking into the possibility of granting a financial aid in the first months of 1992 for the adjustment of the balance of payments and for ensuring raw materials for the industry and the functioning of the Albanian economy.

On his part, Minister Kapllani pointed to the importance Albania is devoting to the cooperation with the European Community and currently with the G-24 and to the value the support of the economic reform has even through financial means.

The Albanian foreign minister met and held talks also with the vice director-general of foreign relations, the director for relations with central and Eastern European countries, the director of the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Poland and Hungary] program, the director of coordination for G-24 and others. In these meetings they exchanged views on the concrete relations between Albania and the European Community in various fields.

On November 13, Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani returned home.

Pashko Gives News Conference on Economic Reform

AU1511101591 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Report on news conference by Dr. Gramoz Pashko, deputy prime minister and minister of the economy, at the Tirana Press Center on 14 November with correspondents from the press, ATA, Radio and Television, foreign journalists, and diplomats accredited to Tirana]

[Text] Frederik Mikeli, assistant to the prime minister's cabinet, opened the news conference. Dr. Pashko first spoke about the National Stability Government's program, economic reform, and the schedule for its implementation. He stressed three main aspects of this reform: stabilization, price liberalization, and privatizing the economy. These three stages of implementing economic reform require time and a schedule.

He went on to explain the problem of stabilizing the country, which involves putting enterprises back to work and reviving our economy as a whole. Presently, the government mainly relies on foreign resources, $60 million granted by the Italian Government, and $20 million granted by the Greek Government. Alongside this, the government will try to use various unexploited foreign sources, such as the aid to be obtained from the FRG and other possible sources next year.

Talking about the government's program for implementing reform, Dr. Gramoz Pashko stressed that we need about $500 million for next year: for raw materials, food, and reserves for one month and in order to pay the debts we have contracted. Our plans will be ready by the end of December, he said, and we will apply through the IMF to the Group of 24, which is ready to help our country.

Dr. Pashko went on to say that we are now in the thick of land reform. About 45 percent of the land has been distributed to peasant families. This work will proceed faster, and we envisage that most of the land will have been distributed by the end of December and the beginning of next year in order to hasten work for the spring sowing. This is our only rescue and way of ensuring food for the people next year.

Speaking about the problem of price liberalization, Dr. Pashko stressed that the government considers agriculture to be a priority branch of the economy. The liberalization of the prices of agricultural and animal products will therefore help to overcome difficulties and stabilize the situation. Privatization will in the future extend beyond the retail sector, services, and transportation. Last week alone, 170 stores were privatized in Tirana and this work is continuing to make sure that privatization spreads further in the first quarter of next year. The government is working to give responsibility to the economic enterprises.

He also spoke about the government's work to create a fiscal and banking system and a customs and licensing system in the next three months.

Talking about the program for new investments in cooperation with foreign banks, Dr. Pashko said that the Italian credit and the construction of 80 new plants creating employment opportunities will help here. Another goal of the government's program is to lift the embargo of the banks, which is our only source of finance. The government's strategy is to create a commission to study our debt of $450 million and how to clear it.

Dr. Gramoz Pashko also concentrated on the country's need for food. He stressed opportunities opened by the aid granted by Italy and underlined the government's efforts to strengthen cooperation with countries in the Group of 24 for aid, credit, social assistance, etc. The government will try to exploit all possible resources at home and abroad in order to stabilize the country and implement the economic reform as the sole way of

further deepening democracy in Albania. Dr. Pashko expressed optimism about the government carrying out its program and the economic reform, especially in getting through this winter and opening up new prospects for our country's general development.

Dr. Pashko then replied to journalists' questions. Asked about the aid granted by the Italian Government for the forces of public order organs, he said that the government has set aside $16 million for equipment, clothing, etc. However, nothing has been achieved yet because we have had no chance. The government is insisting that the Italian side should speed up the grant of aid for these organs.

Answering a Canadian journalist's question about Canadian aid to Albania, he said that this country now knows our needs and difficulties because it is a member of the Group of 24. Canada is therefore able to help Albania with grain, coal, etc.

Asked by a Radio Tirana journalist about the recent demand of various political parties for the elections to be brought forward, Mr. Pashko said that the political parties agreed and promised by a general consensus to create the National Stability Government, giving it a mandate until May or June next year. It is important to enforce this agreement to realize the government's program.

Asked by an ATA journalist about obtaining aid from the United States, Dr. Pashko said that the United States has been correct in carrying out its promises to our country in granting technical assistance, a quantity of wheat, butter, other food products, etc. By securing the support of the Group of 24, the IMF, and the World Bank, we will also have powerful political support for our future programs.

In connection with a question about the government's relations with the People's Assembly, Dr. Pashko said that we are the servants of the parliament, which is the temple of democracy in Albania and are obliged to obey it.

Asked about the Greek Government's $20 million credit, Dr. Pashko said that our government has made efforts to unblock this credit which represents raw materials mainly for the textile industry.

Dr. Pashko also replied to other questions about our economic relations with Yugoslavia and its republics, social assistance, our country's industrial and agricultural production, etc.

Republican Party Considers Assembly 'Overhasty'

AU1511105891 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Statement issued by the Republican Party; place and date not given]

[Text] The initiative of a group of intellectuals to summon a national assembly is against our earlier expressed views and does not accord with them either in form or content. We must frankly admit that it was the communists who divided the nation. They started with their pro-Serbian policies during the war, collaborating in the genocide and oppression in Kosovo, and pursued the same policies against their Cam brothers. Meanwhile the class war made national division an ongoing tragedy during the 45 years of postwar communist domination. The Republicans believe that there can be no talk of national unity with the communists at the top or before they give up not only their past but their continuing insistence today on keeping the country's life under their control under the disguise of renewal. We consider that a national assembly of political parties summoned by a group of intellectuals, however well-intentioned, is unimaginable, all the more so when no clear platform for this assembly has been issued and its aims are unknown. Such an assembly bears no resemblance to other historic events of this kind, because it is now not merely the question of a foreign danger, but mainly of a domestic communist invasion, that brings division.

Under such circumstances, the Republican Party considers the proposed holding of the assembly overhasty and useless, and will not take part in it. We think a national assembly of democratic forces at home and abroad, including the diaspora, is more than necessary and must be held as soon as possible. The Republican Party commits itself to working for and rendering every assistance to achieving this goal. The Republican Party will highly value all democratic initiatives and activities of our intellectuals, who are the leading force of society.

Democratic Party Demands Radio, TV Reform

AU1511102291 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] A declaration by the Democratic Party's [PD] group of deputies about the situation in Radio and Television states, among other things, that the deputies again consider it necessary to publicly state their concern over the endless delays in solving the problem of Radio and Television.

The PD's group of deputies has always stressed the need for Albanian Radio and Television to be depoliticized as soon as possible, so that it may help to stabilize and calm the country and to serve lofty national interests, which it can only do if it is freed from all party influence. The deputies consider that solving this issue involves the basic right of the provision of free and uncensored information, in accordance with the dispositions of the Helsinki Charter and all other international documents.

The PD's parliamentary group considers it essential to end party control and censorship in Radio and Television. These are the reasons impelling the PD's parliamentary group to emphasize that they cannot take part

in debates on other laws before Radio and Television is first democratized and its present leading officials are removed.

Distribution of Workers Party's Assets Proceeds

AU1411172991 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Report by Arben Malaj]

[Text] Under Council of Ministers Decree No. 298 of 19 August on the administration of the principal assets of the political parties and social organizations, the Finance Ministry has created a central commission with the task of making an inventory of the main assets given to all political parties and organizations that are created according to need.

According to Sotiraq Kallaveshi, chairman of the Central Inventory Commission, this process in practice began one year ago. In a way, he said, we are in effect doing nothing but nationalizing the property of the state. Following a report by the Finance Ministry's Central Commission, Mr. Bufi's coalition government issued on 1 November Decree No. 402 on the distribution of the main assets formerly at the disposal of the Albanian Workers Party [PPSh]. On the basis of the government's decision, all these assets, from buildings down to motor cars, remain state property. According to this decision, only the eastern part of the building of the former PPSh Central Committee, 15 out of the 33 cars of the former PPSh Central Committee's car pool, a part of the building of the former Tirana PPSh District Committee, and the ZERI I POPULLIT building and its equipment have been given free to the Managing Committee of the Socialist Party.

No less than five offices in the regional committees and no less than 10 offices of the former PPSh committees have been placed at the disposal of the Socialist Party. The Higher Party School with its service personnel has been placed at the disposal of the Communal Housing Department, to be administered according to criteria to be issued by the Council of Ministers and the General Directorate of the Communal Economy. The free space in the buildings of the former PPSh committees in the districts and superfluous cars will be administered by the pluralist district executive committees.

One item in the National Stability's Government decree states that buildings placed at the disposal of parties and other political and social organization apart from those represented in the parliament may be used against payment of rent. The criteria for calculating the rent will be determined by special instructions from the Finance Ministry and the General Directorate of the Communal Economy. High-level Finance Ministry officials will soon start an inventory of the financial assets of the former PPSh and the other mass organizations.

We went to the Finance Ministry today in order to obtain more up-to-date information about the work of the commission for the distribution of the above assets to the political parties and associations, and asked Mr. Sotiraq Kallaveshi, the commission's chairman, to tell us about progress in this problem and the worries, objections, and appeals, if any, from the parties losing or gaining in this process. However, Mr. Kallaveshi's reply was that he could not report on such matters without approval from the minister or his deputy. We must therefore close this radio report with a wise saying of a famous American journalist, who said that information must not serve the government but the people.

Zhelev Gives Speech at NATO Headquarters

AU1411130391 Sofia BTA in English 1215 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Sofia, November 14 (BTA)—In his speech before the North Atlantic Council in Brussels today President Zhelyu Zhelev suggested that regular political consultations be held between Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey.

The political dialogue between Bulgaria and its NATO-affiliated neighbours will help clarify the problems and decrease tension and, in the long run, will consolidate stability and security in the Balkans, said Bulgaria's president. His speech was aired by the Bulgarian radio.

Bulgaria proposed that a European summit on the problems of regional security be held in Sofia in mid-1992. Dr. Zhelev invited NATO to attend.

Dr. Zhelev praised the results of the recent Rome summit as an important step towards a renewal of NATO in the spirit of the changes in Europe and around the world. The Republic of Bulgaria welcomes the decisions of Rome which are of extreme importance not only for the future of NATO but for European security in general, those decisions show that NATO will continue to play successfully its role as a guarantor of security and stability in the future Euro-Atlantic Community, Bulgaria highly appreciates and supports that role, Dr. Zhelev pointed out.

He said that Bulgaria is ready to take its share of responsibility for the stability in the Balkans. "We count on our partners from NATO who declared that their own security is inseparably bound up with the security of all European countries," he said. Dr. Zhelev pointed out that Bulgaria does not call in question the legitimacy of the NATO military aid for Greece and Turkey and does not perceive it as a measure targeted against Bulgaria. "But that aid inevitably disturbs the fragile balance of forces in that region. From this point of view, and bearing in mind the declared willingness to preserve the existing balance, Bulgaria should also be receiving such aid," President Zhelev said. He explained that what Bulgaria wants is not additional weaponry but a support for the economic reform and assistance mainly in the development and modernization of the major branches of industry. According to him, the improvement of the social and economic stability inside Bulgaria would exert a favourable effect on Balkan stability in general.

Bulgaria's head of state spoke of the importance of the recent parliamentary elections as a result of which Bulgaria has a non-communist government for the first time in 45 years and prerequisites were created to expedite the political and economic reforms.

Government Requests Yugoslav Electricity

AU1411122391 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 7 Nov 91 p 4

[24 CHASA staff report]

[Text] Bulgaria is requesting 250 megawatts of electricity from Yugoslavia and urging that they be included in the European power supply system. Yordan Mirazchiyski, deputy chairman of the Power Supply Committee who left for Belgrade on 6 November, is heading the negotiations. We currently import approximately 250 megawatts from Greece and Albania.

The West insists on stable power sources and reserve installations in Bulgaria because it does not want to compensate us with electricity from its own system every time our reactor is shut down, Mr. Mirazchiyski told 24 CHASA.

Even if the Ukrainian power grid is put into operation now, power cuts will continue until the end of the week.

It is expected that the Kozloduy Nuclear Power Plant's third reactor will be started up at any time now, and the refueling of the fifth reactor with nuclear fuel has begun.

Zhelev Speaks on Army's New Role in Democracy

AU1511121091 Sofia Khorizont Radio Network in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] This morning an international conference opened at the Boyana Residence in Sofia on the theme of the Army's role in a democratic society. It was organized by the Ministry of Defense and the American Rand Corporation under the patronage of President Zhelyu Zhelev. Here is a report from Georgi Patakochev, who has just returned from the conference:

[Patakochev] I believe that this is the first time that so many high-level military specialists, scientists, and politicians have gathered at the Boyana Residence, built in totalitarian times. In addition to the Bulgarian participants, representatives from the Pentagon are also present. The conference organizers include three specialists on national security from the U.S. Rand Corporation, led by our compatriot Alex Alexiev, who made an introductory speech. The audience listened with interest to the Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev's speech.

Dr. Zhelev noted that the conference was taking place at the same time as two great events—the meeting of the leaders of the NATO member countries and the second democratic elections in Bulgaria. The first event opened the way for Bulgaria's real association with NATO, for which the CSCE has prepared the ground. The second event, Dr. Zhelev said, shows that our state leadership is making a start on implementing the reforms in the name of which the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] came to power, including the reform of our national security.

President Zhelev stressed that we should seek to obtain the security guarantees that are so necessary in nonmilitary directions: in the economy, national unification, scientific research, and integration into all the European structures. This premise, the president said, is embodied in NATO's new strategy that was adopted at the Rome

meeting. What subjects does the Bulgarian president expect the conference discussions will cover?

[Begin Zhelev recording] It will cover how to develop structures and mechanisms for the Army's operation of the type that will eliminate any chance that the Army will be used for purposes similar or identical to those for which the Soviet Army or the Yugoslav Army were used, how to ensure that the Army becomes one of the primary guarantees of the irreversibility of the democratic process in Bulgaria, how to make the Army a sure defender of our entire state, How to train our Army using such methods and equipment as to ensure that the Army becomes an integral component of the all-European defensive structures. [end recording]

[Patakochev] I will add that the conference participants also include Vice President Atanas Semerdzhiev; Foreign Minister Stoyan Ganev; Defense Minister Dimitur Ludzhev; Colonel General Lyuben Petrov, chief of the Bulgarian Army General Staff; and other top-ranking Bulgarian officers.

The foreign guests include Mrs. (Anne Perman), deputy commander of the U.S. Air Force; Brigadier General Thomas Montgomery, chief of a Pentagon department; Major General [name indistinct], from the European Command of the U.S. Air Force; and a large group of U.S. military experts.

Mr. Alex Alexiev of the Rand Corporation delivered a paper on the subject: general problems of the transition of postcommunist military institutions to democracy. After him, Mr. Tom Shiner, also from the Rand Corporation, spoke about the transition to democracy in the Czechoslovak Army. The discussions have now started, and the conference will continue this afternoon.

BSP Faction Seeks Allies in Political Center

AU1511063091 Sofia BTA in English 2035 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Sofia, November 14 (BTA)—[passage omitted] The Council of Ministers decided today to start fixing the ceiling prices of liquid fuels twice instead of once a month. The cabinet believes that in this way prices will reflect better current market conditions.

The cabinet decided to sign a protocol on the reduction of air pollution by volatile compounds and to extend the term of the Bulgarian-EC Agreement on Textiles Trade to the end of 1992. [passage omitted]

Parliament approved the structure of its committees. Their composition reflects the correlation of forces in the National Assembly, in which the Union of Democratic Forces commands a majority.

Radicals of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (United) declared themselves in favour of the Agrarians' unification. They told journalists that both the party' ideology and personnel should be innovated. They stressed that the local branches should take their own decisions on contacts with the Nikola Petkov Agrarians (the other big Agrarian Party in Bulgaria).

Supporters of the social-democratic idea within the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) told a news conference they would seek followers in the political centre. According to them, the social democratization of the BSP almost stopped in the middle of the year. Representatives of the Europe Social Democratic Club also said that the Social Democratic Party led by Dr. Petur Dertliev is too markedly anti-communist and cannot be the exponent of the views of 500,000 social democrats in this country. [passage omitted]

The entire personnel of the Ministry of Health Care will be changed, it became known at a news conference. Mr. Nikola Vasilev, the new minister of health care, will submit statutory acts on the Chamber of Medicine, the organizations in the sphere of health care, prophylaxis and state sanitary control, on donations and transplants. [passage omitted]

National Councils Disagree on Fundamental Issues

AU1411144491 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Nov 91 pp 1-2

["(NO-AM, JG)"-signed report: "Passing Notes Across the Corridor Is, Apparently, Faster"]

[Excerpts] Papiernicka—Following discussions on who said what and what he meant by it, the talks between the Czech National Council [CNR] and Slovak National Council [SNR] presidia continued—jointly, but, nevertheless, separately—in Papiernicka yesterday. Therefore, during the morning round of talks, not even a small step forward was taken in resolving the constitutional and legal arrangement. The sticking point lay in determining what the constitutional nature of adopting the treaty should be. [passage omitted]

The Czech side formulated key questions that, from previous meetings, had been contentious. It conveyed them to the Slovak side in writing—across the corridor—and waited for an answer. [passage omitted]

The CNR's Questions and the SNR's Answers

In an attempt to find out what the questions were, we turned to individual members of both presidia during the lunch break. It was apparent from what we found out that one of the CNR Presidium's questions concerned whether the SNR Presidium thinks that, following the adoption of the constitutions, it will take recourse in the treaty as a basis for the law. This is the most contentious issue, and so we cannot be surprised that they did not receive an answer from the Slovak side. The second question concerned whether the SNR Presidium insists that the recurrent ratification principle be enshrined in the treaty they are drawing up together. In this case, according to the information we have at our disposal, the Slovak side agreed that the answer to this question should be yes. That is, it insists on ratification. [passage omitted]

No To a Referendum

In its third question, the CNR Presidium wanted to know whether the Slovak side agrees with the point of view that only the joint state is an entity of international law. According to information from M. Ftacnik, the SNR Presidium thinks that not only the joint state should be an entity of international law. However, the issue of the joint state's responsibility following the adoption of the treaty between the republics is contentious. It was said that only the joint state can be an entity of international law as far as economic responsibilities or monetary issues are concerned. Another question concerned a referendum on the constitutional and legal arrangement, in the event that they do not reach an agreement. Apparently, the majority of SNR Presidium members said no to a referendum.

Another question concerned issues [emisie] and currency. It involved whether the bank has the right to determine the amount of money in circulation and whether there should be single credit, monetary, interest rate, and foreign currency policies. The answer was yes as long as there is a Council of Governors or a Bank Council as proposed by the Slovak side.

We have also discovered from reliable sources that the Slovak side particularly wanted to find out the Czech side's point of view regarding the proposal to amend Article 142 of the Constitution: "The Federal Assembly adopts the constitution of the joint state on the basis of the joint draft principles for the constitution agreed upon in the Treaty Between the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic represented by the Czech National Council and the Slovak National Council. The constitution's validity must be approved by the National Councils." [passage omitted]

The presidias' talks came to an end just before 1900. Two of the people who participated in them commented on their outcome. Milan Secansky (Movement for a Democratic Slovakia) said: Twenty-two issues concerning the federation's jurisdiction remained unresolved. We do not know who will resolve them. As far as the nature of the treaty is concerned, this issue will remain open because we insist that the treaty be valid permanently and that it provide a guarantee for further constitutional and legal development. The Czech side, and some members of the Slovak Presidium, rejected such a proposal. However, let me tell you what was the piece de resistance of the talks. After the questions and answers were exchanged between the presidia, we found out that the CNR Presidium agreed by a majority of 14 votes that Brno should be the federation's capital. In the early evening we disagreed on whether the treaty provides a basis for the law or not. We have a great deal of evidence that it does provide a basis—for example, the option protocol contained in the Helsinki agreement. [passage omitted]

Peter Tatar (Civic Democratic Union—Public Against Violence) evaluated the outcome of the talks differently: The Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] was most active in putting up obstacles to an agreement. They even cast doubts on issues that we had resolved in Stirina, for example, issues concerning labor relations that are a matter of course in a joint state. I was very surprised that the KDH voted against the proposal put forward by the Bishops' Conference—and supported by Cardinal Korec [Bishop of Nitra]—that the church's legislation should be divided. Some basic issues belong to the federation and others belong to the republics. They also voted against this. Simply, the political will to reach an agreement was lacking. We should not be surprised at the opposition; it sat passively and voted for the KDH's obstructive and destructive proposals, proposals that in fact mean we have not been able to reach an agreement on 22 issues in the draft joint text.

[NARODNA OBRODA] Mr. Tatar, will the state-forming process shift to the Federal Assembly? Will it return at all to the forum of the National Councils?

[Tatar] It is necessary to clearly state that the entire curve up to Kromeriz and from Kromeriz until today has been plotted in such a way as to ensure that we comply in a legal manner with the new view of the federation, that is, a federation of two equal entities. We acceded to this with the very best aspirations; despite this, our endeavor has been in vain. It was blocked by the KDH. I would ask them what lies behind this. [passage omitted]

Calfa Outlines Consequences of Possible Breakup

LD1511073991 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 2100 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] The Federal Government devoted a substantial part of its session today to discussing the current state of talks on a constitutional setup for Czechoslovakia. At a news conference after the end of the session, Prime Minister Calfa expressed his view about the possible consequences of a split of our common state:

[Begin Calfa recording, in Slovak] When you look at our borders, you can see that Slovakia borders on the east with the Ukraine, which is looking for its own statehood and declared that it demands a 400,000 to 500,000-strong [as heard] army with nuclear weapons. In the south it borders Hungary. The border between Slovakia and Hungary is not 100 percent clear. Only the border between Czechoslovakia and Hungary is clear, which is something they do not like to hear in Slovakia, but it is true. In the north there is Poland, and behind that there is sea. In the west, we would border with Bohemia and Moravia—it would be a border with a state that was party to the split and has all the reasons to complain in some ways about the split; in other words, the border there cannot be envisaged as a 100 percent friendly border until some sort of settlement is reached in the case of a split. Thus, Slovakia's only border with Europe is just a few kilometers-long border at Berg and with Austria at the Danube.

Personally, as a Slovak politician and representative of my voters, I have to say here that I am worried by such a future of Slovakia in this situation. I am in no way a worse or better Slovak than the others who care.

When you look at it in terms of geography, Bohemia is rather strongly thrust into Germany, into the Germanic environment. In the south is Austria, and most of its border in the west, in the north, and in the south is with Germany. Its future is very closely linked with this environment economically, geographically, and even historically. The marriage between Bohemia and Slovakia is in a certain way a balancing factor. To the east, Bohemia would have Slovakia, which would have a link with the former Soviet republics. To the east of Slovakia would be Bohemia, which would be a link with the greater Germanic environment.

My view is that this geographical link between Bohemia and Slovakia is, in fact, an absolutely ideal geographical connection, because it links these environments and because it is truly in the center of Europe. If I disregard all economic relations, which could be discussed at some length, this factor is of exceptional importance. When I talk to the people who are striving for independence, I am asking: Do you have any idea about the consequences this will have? Their reply is: No, we will be dealing with all these matters only subsequently. Precisely this—dealing with matters later—constitutes fundamental irresponsibility. This is exactly what I do not want to hear and what I cannot permit, if I harbor the faintest feeling of responsibility. [end recording]

Carnogursky on Slovak Action on Sovereignty Issue

LD1411145191 Prague CSTK in English 1402 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Bratislava Nov 14 (CSTK)—Slovak Christian Democratic Movement (KDH) Chairman Jan Carnogursky today told reporters that the Slovak National Council (parliament) proved yesterday it is capable of rejecting empty gestures that could worsen and destabilise the political situation in Czechoslovakia.

Carnogursky, who is also Slovak premier, was referring to the parliament's refusal to include a declaration of Slovak sovereignty on the agenda of its session.

Dealing with the talks between the Czech and Slovak parliament presidiums earlier this week, Carnogursky said the main remaining dispute was over an agreement which the Slovak side wants signed between the two republics but which is rejected by the Czechs. He said the Slovak leaders have accepted the idea of preserving the federation in some form.

He went on to say the drafting of a new Slovak constitution is nearing completion, and if an inter-republic agreement is not signed by the next elections (due in June 1992), the constitution would be adopted but would not come into effect, or at least parts of it would not, which would be unconstitutional.

He called it unrealistic to call a referendum on Czechoslovakia's future setup before the elections. Rather, it could take place simultaneously with or after the elections, Carnogursky said.

"We are unable to agree with the Slovak side on the form of a federation which would correspond to our present ideas", Czech Premier Petr Pithart said today.

Addressing a Czech parliament session, he said, "this exhausting deadlocked situation cannot go on indefinitely".

The Czech side must be prepared for a situation that two states can emerge from the federation which can either cooperate with one another or wage an economic war, Pithart stressed.

Cabinet Approves Federal, Republic Budget Reports

LD1511104991 Prague CSTK in English 1948 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Prague Nov 14 (CSTK)—Czechoslovak Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus today said there is "No single, magic, direct, single-purpose procedural regulation that would do anything concrete" to prevent the purchase at auction of small shops and services with illegally-earned funds.

Speaking to a press conference after the Federal Cabinet session, Klaus said the government has prepared several proposals for revisions of the banking, criminal and tax laws, along with changes in tax regulations, administration and auditing, aimed at solving the problem.

Asked whether the cabinet discussed abolishing the 140 crown (4.65 USD) monthly payments initiated in July 1990 to compensate citizens for sharp price increases, Klaus said the issue was not touched on directly but that given the state of the federal budget, employed persons will probably see their compensation paym[illegible] cancelled in 1992.

[illegible]

A communique released after the cabinet session said the Federal Government approved a report on the federal and republic budgets for the first three quarters of 1991.

As of September 30, the aggregate budget showed a surplus of 11,440 million crowns (381 million USD): a 13,280 million crown (443 million USD) surplus in the federal budget, and deficits of 160 million crowns (5.3 million USD) and 1,680 million crowns (56 million USD) in the Czech and Slovak Republic budgets.

At present, Klaus said, the aggregate budget is registering a surplus of 7,800 million crowns (260 million USD), 200 million crowns less than the government's projected year-end surplus.

The third quarter was not completely satisfactory, the communique noted, as expenditures increased and revenues from turnover tax, wage deductions and taxes on profits dropped.

Bank President on Price, Savings Increases

LD1411061791 Prague Ceskoslovensky Rozhlas Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 13 Nov 91

[Summary] Josef Tosovsky, president of the Czechoslovak State Bank, told a Czechoslovak Radio reporter that during the first half of this year prices increased by 49 percent. Savings and other banks offering to savers during the same period an average of a 14 percent interest rate on their deposits. The population's savings amount to approximately 280 billion kopeks. Since July, inflation has been at zero. Despite this, the interest rate offered to savers by savings and other banks is currently at 11 percent, and for deposits left for two years it stands at 14 percent. This means there is currently a high real interest rate that compensates savers for losses incurred during the first half of the year when inflation was high. Since April, people have begun to save more. This trend is continuing. This is interesting because savings have begun to increase while real income has begun to decline substantially.

A number of new factors exist in the behavior of the population. A potential threat of loss of employment is forcing the population to think more about their future and to save. New investment opportunities are opening up. Some people who benefitted from the restitution of their former property bought small enterprises during the first stage of the privatization and are now saving for further investment. Greater savings means fewer purchases that in turn may lead to lesser growth of prices, making them more stable.

Ministry Official Views RSA Trade, Cooperation

AU1411175891 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 11 Nov pp 1, 3

[Interview with Jiri Brabec, first deputy minister of foreign trade, by Martin Jankovec; place and date not given: "Can We Find Our Place in the South African Market?"]

[Text] Jiri Brabec, CSFR first deputy minister of foreign trade, accompanied Jiri Dienstbier, federal deputy prime minister and minister of foreign affairs, on his recent visit in South Africa. HOSPODARSKE NOVINY questions concerned the outcome of this trip:

[Jankovec] What is the current situation in economic cooperation between the two countries?

[Brabec] In January, the Federal Ministry of Foreign Trade abrogated the edict banning trade with the Republic of South Africa [RSA] and modified it by Edict 28/91 so that only the export of selected items that could be used by RSA for military, security, and intelligence purposes remains banned. In September 1991, a trade treaty of great importance for the future was then signed in Prague. The document in question is based on the most-favored-nations status. Since the RSA canceled the import duty, the treaty has provided our exporters with new opportunities and increases the competitiveness of Czechoslovak goods on the South African market. This duty is usually extremely high and ranges from 17 to 40 percent according to the commodity. Trade with the RSA is dynamic. During the first nine months of this year, we imported goods valued at $2.5 million, while the value of our exports was 1.8 million. Of course, indirect trade (reexport through third country) continues. The value of the turnover here ranges between $4 and $6 million.

The use of manganese ore shipments from the RSA to make up for the shortage in imports from the USSR can serve as an example. Thus far, we export to South Africa mostly consumer goods, glass, for example, but we

intend to create conditions for exports of our engineering products (particularly machine tools) for which, because of local situations, a great demand exists in the RSA.

[Jankovec] Have you discussed any specific ideas or projects?

[Brabec] The purpose of my presence in the delegation was to define clear rules for economic cooperation following almost 30 years without direct economic ties. Topics included the establishment of important personal contacts that would create business space for Czechoslovak enterprises. Of the specific plans for the near future, I will mention the Week of Czechoslovakia that is to take place at the end of November and beginning of December in the South African business and industrial center, Johannesburg. In the framework of this action, Czechoslovak goods will be exhibited, lectures and seminars conducted, a Week of Czech and Slovak cuisine organized, and finally, our business representation in the form of a vice consulate [vicekonsulat] will open here.

[Jankovec] What attracted your attention most in the South African economy?

[Brabec] Despite all the obstacles to progress of the RSA in the spheres of domestic and foreign politics, its economy plays the key role not only in South Africa. It is systematically improving relations with all other countries in Africa. The reasons for this success can be traced to the strong RSA support for the maximum the entrepreneurship of the black population, wherein a relatively strong middle class has formed. On the other hand, the negative impact of the long-lasting embargo shows in the RSA economy, as a partially closed economy has emerged. It was caused by the RSA having to respond to the embargo, among other things, by introducing large import duties and endeavors to be self-sufficient. A lesson to us could be their utilization of resources and inputs in production. At this time, of course, as the sanctions against the RSA were relaxed, the country is passing through a period of opening the economy and restructuring production and consumption. Hence, both our countries are dealing with similar problems. The important thing is, however, that our economies complement each other, and therefore there is space for mutually advantageous cooperation.

The RSA is undergoing a tumultuous political development. It is necessary to follow it, but I personally do not believe that there is a danger of the worst-case scenarios in the future development of the South African society coming to pass. The possible risks from the Czechoslovak point of view should be eliminated by the expected influx of South African capital into the Czechoslovak economy, for which conditions have been created.

[Jankovec] What are realistic chances for our people to find opportunity in the South African labor market?

[Brabec] The majority of our compatriots (approximately 8 to 10 thousand people) in the RSA found good jobs. The situation has changed somewhat. The need for skilled labor is still substantial in the RSA, but, at the same time, as a consequence of the restructuring, the country has an exceptionally high rate of unemployment that is beginning to affect even the white population. The RSA is no longer the ideal immigrant country. The South African authorities must limit immigration. The success of people from the CSFR is more likely in the realization of the mutual-cooperation projects—in the assembly of the machines, equipment, investment projects, etc.—by contract, assuming that the Czechoslovak bids are competitive.

Plans To Close SFRY Border to Refugees Denied

LD1411222991 Budapest MTI in English 1507 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 14 (MTI)—Rumours Yugoslav authorities planned to close the Roszke border station tomorrow were denied by deputy commander of the southern Hungary Roszke border crossing Lt. Col. Janos Zakar. Contrary to the rumour Zakar said, Yugoslav authorities have recently asked on several occasions to open the temporary border station at Tiszasziget. The number of refugees applying at the Szeged Red Cross organization has risen in the past days, Zakar told MTI. The new refugees are mainly women and children joining their husbands and fathers, who earlier came to Hungary. Apparently, the border station closure rumour originated from them, and quickly spread in Szeged. According to the Hungarian refugee office, presently about 40,000 Yugoslav refugees are in Hungary, 3,500 staying at receiving stations.

Government Discusses SFRY Crisis, Refugees

LD1511072991 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] The Yugoslav crisis featured on the agenda of today's Hungarian government session. Spokeswoman Judit Juhasz has the details:

[Juhasz] A reinforced monitoring system is in operation on the border. In recent days the Hungarian Army has managed to make contact with the commander of the Yugoslav Air Force. The Hungarian side asked for an approximately 30 km air zone to be guaranteed in which all aerial activity is excluded. The Yugoslav side promised to reply to the request this week. The meeting also dealt with the clarification of the circumstances of the Barcs bombing, but no reply has yet been given to the evidence we unveiled. It was proposed that both sides would participate in a joint investigating committee.

Around 35,000 refugees from Yugoslavia are in Hungary. Around 15 percent have registered at refugee camps. According to reports, the atmosphere is significantly calmer both in the refugee camp [as heard] and in the Hungarian villages along the border. Rail and road traffic is undisturbed at the border stations that are open. Through traffic is at a halt only at Magyarboly. Police are limiting the number of trucks and cars they let through at Tompa to those that can proceed at an acceptable rate. The rest are made to wait outside the locality. Air traffic to Slovenia, Croatia, Ljubljana, Zagreb, and Dubrovnik is still at a standstill.

The Adria oil pipeline is damaged. Oil is still not arriving in the country. The excess expenditures resulting from the preparations are putting a very serious burden on the budget. The accumulated debt of the Yugoslav railways is raising cause for concern, and we have serious losses resulting from the decrease in traffic.

The government also dealt with the sanctions ordered by the EC. On Monday the National Security Committee will examine what effect the boycott initiated by the EC could have on our relations with the EC member countries. We are conducting coordinating talks on this subject among the three Visegrad countries.

The Hungarian Foreign Ministry is in continuous contact with the current EC chairman and is asking for UN observers to be located in Hungary. Hopefully, there will also be talks with Lord Carrington.

As is already common knowledge, the Bucharest parliament yesterday approved the law on Romania's constitution. The government is studying the situation that has developed.

Disputed Matters Delay Signing of EC Agreement

LD1511090191 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Contrary to earlier plans, it will not be possible today after all to initial the association agreement between Hungary and the European Community. The discussions will be drawn out at least until the middle of next week. The reason for this, according to observers, is that there are still many disputed matters on textile and agricultural trade, and the free flow of manpower.

Ministry Views Advantages of EC Association

AU1411121991 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 13 Nov 91 p 12

[Interview with Janos Martonyi, administrative state secretary at the Ministry for International Economic Relations, by Ilona Kocsi; place and date not given: "Can We Initial the EC Association Treaty on Friday?—The Road to Europe Passes Through Brussels"]

[Excerpts] Events have speeded up. This week, Hungary and the EC may come to an agreement in Brussels on the conditions of Hungary's association, and the heads of the negotiating delegations may initial the important association document. We may or we may not become associate members of the EC on 1 January 1992. It would therefore be worthwhile to examine what this change could mean for us. What does the balance of possible advantages and losses show? We interviewed Janos Martonyi.

[Kocsi] Why is it so important for us to sign this association treaty this year? Do we have enough time to wait for the optimal conditions?

[Martonyi] With this treaty, we will have the pressure of external adaptation upon us, and this could accelerate domestic modernization processes. The time when this acceleration takes place is very relevant. Many people ask nowadays whether we are taking on too great a risk, or whether we are exposing the Hungarian economy to unknown dangers, risks whose effect is beyond our control....

[Kocsi] Well, is that the case? Are we familiar with the risks and the costs of our association?

[Martonyi] No decision is ever risk free, but with this treaty we could probably win a great deal. The ensuing adaptation pressure will be almost as strong as the limitations arising from the disbanding of CEMA. They clearly take our economy toward a market system. [passage omitted]

[Kocsi] What will happen in 1995?

[Martonyi] As of that year, Hungary will reciprocate the advantageous terms that it will have won in 1992. Indeed, the essence of our asymmetrical agreement is that until 1995, Hungary will benefit from concessions but it will not have to give any. If the association treaty is signed, 60 percent of Hungary's industrial products will enter the EC market free of customs duties as of 1 January 1992. In 1995, Hungary will gradually begin with the same process, and consequently, 60 percent of the EC's goods will only be exempt of customs duties in the year 2001, after the completion of an interim period. Hungary, on the other hand, will enjoy customs exemption on 60 percent of its goods immediately, all at once. Furthermore, 1995 will be a turning point because we will have to start applying the EC's competition rules. [passage omitted]

[Kocsi] Brussels is currently hosting our ninth round of negotiations, and on 15 November, we will probably be able to initial our association treaty....

[Martonyi] For the moment, this simply means that the heads of delegation will initial the treaty, but this will not yet make the treaty binding from an international legal point of view. The treaty becomes binding when it is signed—and when the 13 different parliaments have ratified it. This can be rather a lengthy process. That is why we think that we should sign temporary agreements on those issues that only fall under the Community's jurisdiction, so that these may come into force on 1 January. Indeed, some of the issues come under national jurisdiction, and these also need to be ratified by the national parliament. We should acknowledge the fact that an enormous number of things have happened over the last year. Initially, it may have seemed like a political necessity for the West to give some kind of substitute experience to the diligent East European countries by involving them in the integration process, thereby satisfying them for a certain amount of time and keeping them back from the realization of their real wish—full membership. Today we have overcome that stage. It is the economic viewpoints that are at the forefront, and full membership is an aim laid down in the association treaty. [passage omitted]

I am personally convinced that the only way Hungary can fulfill its national self-realization is by joining Europe. I visualize Hungary's future in a unified Europe that preserves national identities, languages, history, and national minority rights. From the point of view of our national future, the best solution is for us to fully form part of the European political, economic, and security system. [passage omitted]

Our only possible strategy is to open up, to liberalize—and the natural requirement and accompaniment for this is our accession to Europe. For us, Europe is the mediator that will take us into the world economy.

Goncz, Tokes Discuss Bilateral Relations

AU1411115691 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 12 Nov 91 p 3

[Report by New York correspondent Peter Sereny: "Bucharest's Isolation Cannot Be the Aim"]

[Text] Bishop Laszlo Tokes joined the New York theater audience watching President Arpad Goncz's play "Racsok" ["Rails"] on 10 November, just before the beginning of the last act. Tokes, currently on a tour of America, had just arrived in New York City. At the end of the performance, President Arpad Goncz spoke with Tokes, who is an ethnic Hungarian Reformed Bishop in Romania and also the honorary chairman of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ]. Following their conversation, Goncz made the following statement to our correspondent:

"I was extremely pleased that if I could not meet him anywhere else, I could at least meet Laszlo Tokes at the theater. I think that Tokes is one of the most important figures among Hungarian politicians and bishops. We had enough time for me to tell him about the essence of the talks I had conducted in Hungary with an RMDSZ delegation, and Tokes informed me on the essence of the talks he had conducted in Washington with First Deputy Defense Secretary Eagleburger. I was very pleased about what he told me, namely that the United States is showing a greater interest in the national minority issue. Tokes was also pleased that there had been complete agreement during our talks with the official RMDSZ delegation. The essential point made during these talks was that we are not the ones who can give advice to the RMDSZ, but that on the contrary, we need their advice. We also agree that Romania should not be excluded from but included in international developments, because if the situation in Romania becomes more stable, this will also improve the situation of Hungarians living there. It is worrying when the fate of a national minority becomes a pawn on a chessboard for domestic political struggles. This was not my first meeting with Tokes, and I had no doubt that in this ever changing situation, we would still have a similar assessment of things."

Answering a NEPSZABADSAG question, Laszlo Tokes commented:

"I think it is important that here in New York, I was again able to express my respect and my politically positive relation vis-a-vis President Arpad Goncz."

Bishop Tokes stressed that with this meeting, he wanted to signal once and for all that the RMDSZ does not look upon Hungary from a political party relationship point of view, but that it views Hungary as a whole, and that in this sense, it does not make a differentiation between the Alliance of Free Democrats or the Hungarian Democratic Forum, or between public figures like the president of the republic and the prime minister.

Regarding the content of the talks, Tokes told us that he had explained to President Goncz that he sincerely hoped that the visit to Budapest of the RMDSZ leaders would bring an end to the practice of people speaking their own mind and claiming to be speaking on behalf of the RMDSZ. There have been examples of this, and it has caused a lot of confusion. However, from now on, "maintaining relations between the RMDSZ and the Hungarian Government and state will be accomplished in a mature, regulated, and controlled way."

Concerning links with Romania, Bishop Tokes said: "We agree that the isolation of Romania cannot be the aim, despite the Romanian Government's current official policy. President Goncz said that, while observing political rules, of course, he would be willing to do everything in his power to further Hungarian-Romanian relations."

Tokes also called President Goncz's attention to the dangers of the situation that had developed following the presentation of the report on the Szeklerland counties [concerning the alleged persecution of Romanians by Hungarians], including the possibility of a catastrophe that would cause a flow of refugees. He asked Goncz to make sure that Hungary's political forces develop a concept for this eventuality.

Government Tightens Chemical Arms Trade Controls

LD1411233391 Budapest MTI in English 1726 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 14 (MTI)—The Hungarian Government has recently strengthened controls on the trade of chemical and biological weapons and the materials and equipment required to make them, Janos Csendes, head of department at the Ministry of International Economic Relations (MIER), told MTI today. Csendes pointed out that an MIER licence was previously required for the trade of these items, but that controls had now been tightened up in line with COCOM regulations and extended to chemicals that are used in agriculture but which could become basic materials of biological weapons. He went on to stress that, although Hungary does not make or store chemical or biological weapons, it does have a role to play in the worldwide control system aimed at preventing the illicit trade of these kinds of weapon. Controls on the trade of nuclear equipment are also to be tightened for the same reason.

Assembly Passes Law on Financial Institutions

LD1411121491 Budapest MTI in English 1108 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 14 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian Parliament yesterday passed the law on financial institutions. Under the law, economic organizations and individual entrepreneurs are now entitled to exchange currency if they have initial capital of at least 1 million forints.

Commercial banks can be established with minimum founding capital of 1 billion, rather than the originally planned 2 billion, forints. After January 1, 1993, only those financial institutions which are members of the Deposit Protection Fund will be authorized to accept deposits.

Under the law, Hungarian financial institutions are free to have foreign capital involvement of up to 10 per cent of the founding capital. If the foreign stake in the bank is to exceed this, preliminary approval must be obtained from the Government. The share owned by a single partner in a financial institution must not exceed 25 per cent, except when the owner is itself a financial institution or the state.

The parts of the bill governing banking practice were passed without major amendment. No important changes were made, for example, to the section on banking confidentiality. This states that supplying information to central data banks set up by financial institutions themselves or data exchange between financial institutions are not considered breaches of banking confidentiality.

There is a separate section on the legal status and powers of the state banking inspectorate. The law states that the banking inspectorate is authorized to supervise, on behalf of the state, the activities of financial institutions based in Hungary, branches or banking representations in Hungary of financial institutions based abroad, and Hungarian financial institutions conducting activities in Hungary and abroad.

Should the banking inspectorate discover a breach of the regulations, it may force the institution in question to take steps to rectify the situation, restrict the financial activities of the institution, and is also empowered to impose fines.

Independent Deputy Views Faction's Legislative Role

AU1411153591 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Nov 91 p 9

[Interview with Istvan Fodor, leader of the independent faction in National Assembly, by Katalin Bossanyi; place and date not given: "Istvan Fodor: Where Is That Party?—Independents in the Balance"]

[Text] I kept my independence, but possibly at the cost of leaving politics, Istvan Fodor summarized his position. Our correspondent interviewed the deputy—who is considered to be the most conscientious deputy in the National Assembly and who also served as acting chairman during the last period of the former National Assembly—on the image, room for maneuver, and political influence of the group of deputies whose membership has now increased to 12.

[Bossanyi] Following the free elections, you said that, you remained independent for the sake of protecting your personal integrity, rather than for political reasons. Have you managed to keep your "nonaligned" independence in the past one and a half years?

[Fodor] Yes, but the price of this will probably be that I leave politics.

[Bossanyi] Why?

[Fodor] Basically because, as an independent deputy, I can only represent my own point of view and not a coordinated opinion on the various issues. At the same time, if deputies want to influence politics today, they have to try to represent the thought-out and summarized points of view of as many people as possible. In theory, I could of course become more involved in one or two specific issues and be a spokesman for them, but I do not feel I am qualified to do that.

[Bossanyi] Your statement is thought provoking partly for the reason that the prestige of the independents appears to be increasing. In fact, from time to time, news also gets around of the formation of a "seventh faction"?!

[Fodor] Membership of the independent deputy group increases because deputies occasionally get into arguments with their parties and, after some deliberation, decide to join us. In the vast majority of cases, these 12 people do not have a common view on the issue under debate. We could only become a seventh faction if there was a split in one of the factions and large number of its members joined the independents to resolve the problem. This is the only constitutional possibility, because they cannot form a new faction. However, forming a majority opinion, they would probably demand to determine the politics of the independent deputy group. That would not be to the advantage of the other deputies, because they would not necessarily be able to identify with these views.

[Bossanyi] The idea of the "seventh faction" emerged at the time [National Democratic Alliance Chairman] Imre Pozsgay joined your group, in the context of the fact that, being in the center, it could mediate between the opposition and the government. Did this take place?

[Fodor] No. The whole group has a correct relationship with Imre Pozsgay. He also respects the independence of the members of our group, and he has never even attempted to line up the independents along his views or his movement. We of course know that he has sympathizers in the various factions, but I have not noticed that he represented a focal point around which the seventh faction could be organized.

[Bossanyi] The idea of a seventh faction is emerging again now, precisely because of the scandals surrounding the Smallholders. Is it possible that the government members of the Independent Smallholders Party will be forced to continue their work as independent members?

[Fodor] In my view, that would be a political mistake. I believe that people who want to acquire greater influence through the current exclusions have made a miscalculation. Factions rather than parties are the negotiating partners of the National Assembly and the government. Therefore, in the current setup, the prime minister is completely in charge because he selects his ministers. They in turn are supported by the majority of the Smallholders' faction. In addition, exclusion from the party is not automatically followed by departure from the faction, because there are nonparty affiliated people in a number of factions.

[Bossanyi] In that case, it is also possible that [Independent Smallholders Party Chairman] Jozsef Torgyan could find himself in a position to join you as the "most independent Smallholder?"

[Fodor] That would be absurd. Nevertheless, according to the statutes, we would have to accept him.

[Bossanyi] There are an increasing number of swaps between the parties, and the number of the independents is also increasing. In your opinion, how free is the mandate?

[Fodor] Approximately half of the deputies were elected as individuals in 1990. In my view, we have to be clear about the fact that their party, and not their personality, played the decisive role in their cases, too—or to be more precise, the promises of their party. This is very well indicated by the fact that people like me, who were elected as independents, could attribute their success to being well known as a result of their former role in public life and in the change of regime. This also corresponds to the practice of the more mature Western democracies. As for having the mandate at one's disposal, formally we could say that people who were not elected on a list can dispose of their mandates freely. However, this issue also has a political side to it. I think that the practice of traditional parliamentary democracies is worth paying attention to, namely that the deputies return their mandates in such cases and enter the elections for their vacant position as independent candidates or the candidates of another party.

[Bossanyi] The multi-colored nature of the political scene is well illustrated by the independent faction. Which does this group support more, the opposition or the government?

[Fodor] I do not usually observe which way the members of our group vote.... However, I can see that the decisions of independent deputies are usually determined by previous party affiliations.

[Bossanyi] This is a timely issue because many people think that the debates in the coalition can be resolved by replacing the Smallholders, that is, the weak "link in the chain", by the votes of the independents.

[Fodor] In the case of a simple majority, we could decide the "balance."

[Bossanyi] Does that mean that a minority government is a possibility?

[Fodor] Yes. In fact, I think that in certain respects, the government's position would become more simple, and the responsibility of the opposition would increase.

[Bossanyi] Does this also mean that the government could count on the independents' votes in case of a minority government?

[Fodor] I believe that it could in critical situations.

[Bossanyi] This could be an important indication for the future. At the same time, it is apparent that the professional influence and the room for maneuver of the independents has become more limited in the daily work of National Assembly, while their political weight is increasing. What is the reason?

[Fodor] We would like to be able to participate in the work of all committees, but this is rejected by some of the parties, who say that the opinions of the independents have too much of a "dispersing" effect. In my view, this is anticonstitutional because the Constitution declares the equality of the right to vote. That leads to the equality of mandates. Therefore, independent deputies are entitled to the same rights as the deputies of parties. If the expert committees were set up on the principle of parity then our presence could distort the proportion of votes, but this cannot happen in the current system of representation proportionate to mandates.

[Bossanyi] Is it the opposition or the government parties that want to keep the independents away from the committees?

[Fodor] The two largest parties—the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Alliance of Free Democrats—are opposed to our efforts and the smaller parties all support these efforts.

[Bossanyi] Is it possible that the reason for this is that the smaller parties object to the fact that, rather than the weight of professional reasoning, the political balance of power determines the stand of the committees during their work?

[Fodor] Probably. I actually find this practice very harmful. Whether a deputy is in opposition or supports the government, he should not be allowed to become bound by his political prejudices when it comes to professional issues, and he should vote for the alternative or proposal that is most favorable for the whole of our society and economy.

[Bossanyi] The experience of the past one and a half years shows that, although the number of independents is growing, there is little chance of their proposals receiving the support of the majority in the National Assembly. Why is that?

[Fodor] Our suggestions are negatively assessed from the outset due to the aforementioned party political considerations. In addition, negative discrimination is also used against us, for example, we have smaller expert fees that the party representatives.

[Bossanyi] How much room do you provide for lobbying? I mean whether you accept to represent the interests of a profession, area, or social group?

[Fodor] We are often contacted by various political and professional groups, like the trade unions or the organizations of pensioners or entrepreneurs. My feeling is that we should indeed pay more attention to their efforts. The reason for not doing so is that an individually elected deputy is already preparing for the new elections now. It would be a waste of time denying this fact. Therefore, he concentrates his efforts on becoming even more popular in his own electoral district.

[Bossanyi] Let us return to the interpretation of independence. Many people think that this status still had a meaning at the time of the change of regime, but it would only indicate political indecisiveness and an inability to choose at the next elections. What do you think about that?

[Fodor] Even now, the reason for being an independent deputy is not that I do not have a very determined set of values and opinion on democracy. Nevertheless, either retirement or entering the next elections on behalf of a party are the alternatives for me. However, that party does not yet exist.

Ex-Internal Security Head Horvath Interviewed

AU1511111291 Budapest UJ MAGYARORSZAG in Hungarian 12 Nov 91 p 4

["Edited" transcript of television interview with Retired Police Major General Jozsef Horvath, former head of the Internal Security Services, by Tibor Franka; broadcast on "The Week" program on Hungarian Television on 10 November: "He Would Not Lead the III/III Department Again"]

[Excerpts] [Franka] In your opinion, can the activity of the III/III Department be uncovered in Hungary today and can its people and agents be named and made responsible?

[Horvath] The decision is in the hands of parliament. If the National Assembly decides to make the activity of this organization public, it can do it. The question is whether this would be in the interest of rationale, wisdom, and, even more important, in the interest of the nation. In all democratic states, the security system works with specific means and supervision. If any false or half-true list drawn up by anyone is made public in Hungary, this would only weaken our national security.

[Franka] In your opinion, how many people would be affected by a parliamentary decision to make all this public, and to what depth? How many people would be uncovered, complete with their names, address, and current positions?

[Horvath] It has already been mentioned in the press that the Interior Ministry has almost 50,000 files in its possession.

[Franka] How many people could be listed in those files? Nobody knows this better than you....

[Horvath] This depends on how these files were drawn up. It is possible that four or even five files were prepared on a single person, and it is also possible that every file contains one person.

[Franka] In other words, this affects 50,000 people in Hungary today.

[Horvath] It is impossible to separate them according to the organization they were working for.

[Franka] Could there be parliamentary deputies, journalists, and party leaders among them?

[Horvath] There could be. The whole society was penetrated with security people. However, the publication of such a list is absurd from the viewpoint of national security.

[Franka] In your opinion, what crimes did these people commit and what would their punishment be?

[Horvath] In my opinion, masses of innocent people would be called to account. [passage omitted]

[Franka] Off hand, how many names of agents and network officers could you list if, say, people tortured you?

[Horvath] I would not mention a single name.

[Franka] How many names could you list if you wanted to?

[Horvath] Quite a few.

[Franka] Including people who are now in power?

[Horvath] If you do not mind, I do not intend to answer this question.

[Franka] I understand. I will then formulate the question differently: Do you also know the names of people who are now in the National Assembly, are in high positions, or are leading parties?

[Horvath] This organization had contacts in all spheres of our society, and this system of contacts is naturally still alive. [passage omitted]

[Franka] Did you ever think of the possibility that you would be persecuted or even imprisoned?

[Horvath] Honestly speaking, I did not.

[Franka] Do you think now that a black limousine would once come for you or you would get a court summons?

[Horvath] I was threatened twice last week that a black Mercedes would once run me over.

[Franka] Will you then take your secrets to your grave?

[Horvath] Yes, this is such a job. Besides, one can find the affairs in the Interior Ministry archives, if one is curious....

[Franka] Are these files still valid? Rumor has it that some of them were burned, stolen, or discarded....

[Horvath] In my opinion, these files have no power of legal proof. People who were recruited by the organization did not sign these files, so these files were prepared without them. [passage omitted]

TV Chairman Outlines Future Programming Plans

LD1511100291 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Despite the bomb threat [as heard] and rumors, Hungarian television is still standing. What is more, it is sailing out of troubled waters in good condition, television chairman Elemer Hankiss said at his news briefing today.

The first phase of reorganizing the television service has concluded, and despite the fact that there is less money than expected at our disposal, for the first time in many years the company is closing the year debt-free. This is how Elemer Hankiss' analysis can be summarized. Of course, the first restructuring entails many new elements, discernable also by the viewers. For example, the number of sponsored programs will be reduced and the balance will swing in favor of advertizing. The first channel is a high quality political, cultural service, and

will aim to make youth programs, while the second—whose intendant will be Istvan Petak—will beginning next year transmit German-type daytime regional broadcasts, transmitting the same programs at peak times from next year. Of the morning programs, "Daytime Television" ["Nap-TV"] will cease, and the "End of the Day Balance Sheet" ["Esti Egyenleg"] will have the same fate.

In his evaluation, the television chairman has also created the material and technical conditions for making good news programs, but the criticisms leveled at "Newsreel" ["Hirado"], have spurred him to launch a new newsreel program. Among the possible chiefs for the new newsreel program, with planned further annual expenditures of 100-150 million forints, Elemer Hankiss mentioned Gizella Tarnoi and Janos Bethlen. [passage omitted]

TV Channel 2 To Air Independent Evening News Show

LD1411144991 Budapest MTI in English 1352 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Budapest, November 14 (MTI)—Hungarian Television's Channel 2 programming will shortly resemble that on the German ARD channel, with more emphasis on provincial problems, said Hungarian Television President Elemer Hankiss. He said while the television vice presidents' appointment is still underway, he would not appoint a leader to Channel 2, although he has already commissioned Istvan Petak.

Hankiss also announced an independent evening news show is scheduled for Channel 2 to rival the main Channel 1 evening news. The financial sources are available, and the technical and production plans are being set up.

Walesa Considering 4 Prime Minister Candidates

LD1411143491 Warsaw PAP in English 1413 GMT 14 Oct 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov 14—The president considered Jan Olszewski as a candidate for prime minister as one of the possibilities but also mentioned present Premier Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, Andrzej Stelmachowski and himself as potential candidates, leader of the Private Farmers Solidarity Gabriel Janowski said Thursday after the meeting of leaders of five political parties with Lech Walesa.

The meeting, attended by heads of the Centre Alliance (PC), the Liberal Democratic Congress (KLD), the Confederation of Independent Poland (KPN), the Christian National Union (ZChN), and the Peasant Alliance (PL), did not discuss candidates for ministerial posts, Janowski said adding that the Rural Solidarity was not going to demand portfolios for itself but the peasant coalition would do that as "they have never shunned responsibility for public affairs."

Two New Parliamentary Clubs Hold First Meetings

AU1511110891 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12 Nov 91 p 3

['aj' report: "The KPN Close to the ZChN"]

[Text] Two new parliamentary clubs, that of the ZChN [Christian-National Union] and KPN [Confederation of Independent Poland] met for the first time in the Sejm on Sunday.

"Typical for a Catholic organization, the ZChN club meeting began with a prayer," said Deputy Jan Lopuszanski after the meeting, which was closed to journalists "We swore on the Holy Bible that we would be faithful to the values that the Bible imparts to public life. We swore that, as parliamentarians, we would fulfill our duties for the sake of the people, the country, and the church.

ZChN leader Wieslaw Chrzanowski was unanimously voted chairman of the ZChN Parliamentary Club. The Sejm part of the club will be headed by Stefan Niesiolowski, and the Senate part by Ryszard Bender.

The KPN Deputies Club met at the same time as the ZChN club. "Ideologically and politically, the ZChN is closest to the KPN," said KPN leader Leszek Moczulski. Although Moczulski was appointed chairman of the club, in practice it will be led by KPN vice chairman Krzysztof Krol.

"The KPN Club should be a tongue of caution in the new Parliament," Moculski said. "The Democratic Union and Liberal Democratic Congress Clubs will probably form a single bloc, and the Center Accord, ZChN, and KPN will form a second, smaller one. The KPN will be a fulcrum between the two and, by means of its support, will determine which of the two blocs will form the new government."

The ZChN Club resolved that the Sejm that was elected on 27 October is the First Sejm of the Third Republic, and that Sejm terms of office cannot be counted from the moment when the Stalinist constitution of the Polish People's Republic was adopted in 1952 [by this reckoning, the new Sejm would be termed the 11th Sejm].

Peasant Leaders Plan Protesting Farmers' Defense

LD1511070991 Warsaw PAP in English 1616 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 14—Seven leaders of peasant parties, unions and organizations decided to undertake joint actions aimed at curing what they termed at the tragic situation in the Polish agriculture. The announcement came as a result of their meeting on Thursday with indebted farmers protesting in front of the Parliament buildings in Warsaw since October 4.

According to leader of the Private Farmers Solidarity Gabriel Janowski the most urgent question was the problem of farmers' debts and credits for agriculture.

Head of the Polish Peasant Party Waldemar Pawlak underlined the problem should be solved in a comprehensive way and opined the current interest rates on rural credits, amounting to 60 or 80 per cent, were inadmissible.

The farmers have been holding their protest since October 4 and nine of them have been fasting for ten days now. "The condition of three of them is rather bad," head of the National Committee for Farmer Self-Defence Andrzej Lepper said adding that the woman taken to hospital was better but needed further hospitalization.

Fighting Recession 1992 Economic Policy Goal

LD1511071691 Warsaw PAP in English 1910 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 14—Counteracting recession while maintaining the major achievements of the stabilization programme is the chief goal of the governmental economic policy for 1992.

At a meeting of the Economic Council on Thursday Deputy Prime Minister Leszek Balcerowicz presented seven major lines of activity aimed at reaching this goal, such as faster privatization, consolidation of export-oriented tendencies in economy, and a strict monetary policy to control inflation.

"When pursuing the goal, one should get rid of the illusion that the recessionary tendencies can be easily and durably reversed while violating the stabilizing factors," Balcerowicz warned.

He pointed out next year Poland would be unable to avoid double-digit inflation and her budget deficit might reach 4-5 per cent of the gross national product, that is slightly more than this year.

According to the assumptions of the socio-economic policy for 1992, more stable conditions for the operation of state enterprises should be created and instruments encouraging the improvement in their financial standing introduced before their privatization.

In discussion the Council members differed as to the assessment of the economic situation in Poland, causes of the present crisis, and the impact of recession on economy.

Professor Waclaw Wilczynski warned against a sharp criticism of the economic policy pursued by the last two governments and seeking causes of recession in its errors. He said recession, unavoidably linked to the on-going transformation, disclosed all shortages in enterprises and the economy.

Professor Cezary Jozefiak pointed out that enterprises were too passive in the process of transformation expecting to force the government to make concessions in this way.

According to Professor Jozef Kaleta recession destroyed the best firms. "Partial success of the stabilization programme should not dim its dramatic effects, such as the scale of recession and unemployment," he said and opted for signing a social accord concerning ways to increase income.

Also Ryszard Bugaj opined a social accord was necessary, provided the government admits its errors.

Ministry Welcomes Soviet Import Liberalization

LD1511070691 Warsaw PAP in English 2120 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 14—The Polish Ministry for Foreign Economic Relations welcomes the liberalization of imports to the Soviet Union, introduced on November 2, as a favourable move that facilitates Polish-Soviet relations and thus may contribute to the growth of mutual trade contacts, a ministry official disclosed here Thursday.

He added, however, that liberalization will have no major impact on the volume of mutual turnover. This will be determined above all by economic situation in Poland and her Eastern partners.

Among unfavourable factors Slawomir Tarnowski mentioned economic crisis in the Soviet Union and asymmetrical systemic solutions in Polish-Soviet economic relations. Hence the new regulations introduced lately are indispensable moves to remove that asymmetry, he said.

CPSU Financial Support of PZPR 'Confirmed'

LD1511081491 Warsaw PAP in English 1817 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By PAP correspondent Zdzislaw Raczynski]

[Text] Moscow, Nov. 14—Aleksandr Yevlakhov, a journalist of the Soviet weekly ROSSIYA, confirmed here Thursday the authenticity of the documents he had published on November 6 to prove financial cooperation between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP) [PZPR].

It is believed that the publications that appeared in two Moscow papers were an expression of a political struggle between different groups in the leadership of Russia and the Soviet Union.

The documents on illegal financial cooperation between the CPSU and the PUWP, later replaced by the Social Democracy of the Republic of Poland (SDRP), are in this context of marginal importance, as first to have been published were documents revealing the financing of American and West European communist parties by the CPSU.

Asked by PAP reporter, a former employee of the International Department of the CPSU CC [Central Committee] declined to comfirm whether financial cooperation between the CPSU and PUWP ended after the latter had been dissolved. But at the same time he suggested to watch carefully the activity of some Polish companies and joint ventures operating vigorously in the Soviet Union. He also hinted the composition of the SDRP delegations to Moscow and party officials they talked to might supply neccessary clues.

The same official who wanted to remain anonynous said the Soviet Embassy in Warsaw had been informed about financial cooperation of the two parties and knew about the channels used to transfer the money. "Of course, the ambassador himself did not necessarily know about it, but responsible embassy employees knew much more than can be seen from the documents published in "ROSSIYA" and "KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA," the source said.

Meanwhile, the SDRP which replaced the defunct PUWP denied any knowledge of the loan granted by the Soviet Communist Party to the (former) Polish United Workers Party in the last period of its existence and of the circumstances of its repayment in a communique released by the SDRP Chief Council Presidium and the Central Executive Committee on Thursday.

Having discussed the party reaction to the reports and allegations in the Moscow press, later on quoted in Polish mass media, the forum demanded explanation of all political and legal doubts in this respect.

According to the Soviet press only part of the money borrowed by the PUWP was repaid while the remaining sum was spent by the Social Democratic Party.

Social Democrats denied the reports and said the findings to date indicated the party had received no financial assistance from the Soviet Communist Party nor other foreign sources. "In tune with the law on political parties the SDRP tried to develop economic activity by specialized economic units. The SDRP financial activity is being inspected and detailed information on it will be made public," the communique reads.

Iliescu Blames Hungary for Ethnic, SFRY Tension

LD1511083091 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2100 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] The Romanian president claims that the nationality tensions in Romania are fanned from Budapest. Ion Iliescu, in a statement to an Italian paper, added that Hungary is to some extent responsible even for the crisis in Yugoslavia. If the Hungarian minority in Romania continues to demand self-government for itself, then this might lead to the increase of tensions between the two peoples and, what is more, to a diplomatic crisis between the two countries, he stressed. Iliescu believes that Hungary's tragedy is caused by the fact that it is populated by a small people with very great ambitions.

UDMR Leaders Discuss Minority Prospects

AU1411132991 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 11 Nov 91 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Geza Domokos, chairman of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania, and Geza Szocs, deputy chairman of the same organization, by Andras Desi in Budapest; date not given: "There Is No Danger of a Possible Split"]

[Text] There are several trends within the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ—in Romanian, UDMR], and there are differences in the evaluation of tactical issues, but this does not mean that the RMDSZ would split or that there is such a danger—Geza Domokos said in his interview. Geza Domokos is head of an RMDSZ delegation currently visiting Hungary at the invitation of the Hungarian National Assembly. Geza Szocs is also a member of this delegation and he also participated in this interview:

[Domokos] The RMDSZ started as a uniform and united organization. It has now transpired that Hungarians living in one bloc interpret their interests differently from those living in a minority. These are real problems, but they do not try to split up this unity. Several parties and cultural and professional organizations are represented in the RMDSZ, and this variety could obviously also cause problems.

There are both younger people and older people in the RMDSZ, people who start from the reality prevailing in Romania as a whole, and there are people who formulate their opinions from the reality in Transylvania. There is also a trend according to which we should at long last talk openly to the Romanians and openly formulate our expectations, and we should make our Romanian partners become accustomed to new concepts. According to another idea, the Romanian situation is very malleable and dangerous, and the entire society is full of suspicion; therefore, one should be careful with various concepts. We must interpret the Romanian changes in their continuity. Regarding their intensity, these changes are different from the Hungarian ones. The situation is different; the starting point is different, and so are the traditions.

Everyone agrees that we must cooperate closely with the democratic forces in Romania and that we should not become isolated. We should also deal with our country's interests, not only with our own interests. Our position in the Romanian Parliament also predestinates us to this role. We have differences of views on tactical issues, but the RMDSZ is not threatened by a split or the danger of a split.

[Desi] A new anti-Hungarian campaign has been going on in Romania in recent weeks. What is behind the latest accusations?

[Domokos] Social tensions occupy the first place. These tensions originate from the bad harvest, the catastrophic state of our economy, shortage of goods and energy, the irregular supply of foodstuffs, and the fear of the winter ahead of us. As a result of the action aimed at creating our currency's internal convertibility, prices will increase by 100 percent beginning with 11 November. The anti-Hungarian campaign is aimed at diverting the people's attention from the above tensions. In addition, the decades-old "internal enemy image" continues to live in the Romanian society.

At the same time, I think it is extremely important to point out that not the entire Romanian society and press fell for this trick. The past two years have had a certain effect, and one can notice the importance of pluralism and a free press. A lot of letters and telephone calls arrived to the RMDSZ recently from Romanians who expressed their solidarity with us.

The general meeting initiated by the Civic Alliance and held in Sepsiszentgyorgy [Sfintu Gheorghe] was also an impressing example of the joint Hungarian-Romanian stand against nationalism. Thus, there are also good signs; naturally, I do not want to say that there are no bad signs. Unfortunately, people in Hungary only know about the latter, and I do not know what the role of the mass media is in this. One of the great lessons of democracy is precisely the fact that each phenomenon should be interpreted in its entirety.

[Szocs] I am convinced that the anti-Hungarian campaign is an attempt on the part of the fallen prime minister to edge this country toward chaos and thus prove that he is the most suitable person to lead Romania. This campaign is only one of the means used for this purpose. I would not be surprised if the trade unions were used for this purpose in the near future. Unfortunately, Romanian society continues to be disinformed and misled, and that is why it is susceptible to such ideas.

As for the internal situation of the RMDSZ, the events of December 1989 represented a chance for us that, unfortunately, we have failed to fully realize so far; however, these events put an end to the dictatorship that had a

murderous effect on us. Despite the difficulties, our situation has changed qualitatively, and we have serious chances for survival, and the RMDSZ will make use of these chances with its own means and according to the best of its conscience.

[Desi] The issue of granting most-favored-nation status to Romania has elicited much debate in the United States recently. What is your opinion about this issue?

[Domokos] I told my negotiating partners in the White House and in the State Department on the occasion of my visit there three weeks ago that almost every country in Eastern Europe had already received this status. Romania will also receive it sooner or later. No decision has been made yet, and the Americans—who shared my views—connect this to many conditions, like democratic elections and full respect for human and national minority rights. I think that both Laszlo Tokes and I were knocking on open doors, and I hope that certain forces would not make use of Bishop Tokes' latest statements to start yet another campaign against him. He said nothing more than what the White House also recognizes.

[Szocs] The RMDSZ Presidium largely agrees with the fact that, under certain strictly determined and supervised conditions, it is desirable to grant most-favored-nation status to Romania, because this would rather strengthen the roots of democracy and help economic consolidation in the current situation in which Romania is drifting into chaos, and this status in itself would not legitimize the current regime. The Stolojan government is incapable of carrying out any reform program. However, if they honestly carry out the local elections in January and the general elections in early spring, they will have done more than we expected from them.

Front Wants Moldovan Rights in New Constitution

AU0811162491 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1520 GMT 8 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest Rompres 8/11/1991—"We appeal to you and urge you to consider, when adopting the new constitution of Romania, that Romania was and should become again a country of all the Romanians," shows an appeal sent to the president, the prime minister and the Parliament of Romania by the Popular Front of Moldova and other nine leagues, unions and organisations of the Republic of Moldova.

"The country's new constitution should put an end to the detention in which a substantial part of the Romanian people has lived for five decades, stipulating for the population of Bessarabia and northern Bukovina the same rights and duties as for all the Romanians—including the right to Romanian citizenship," the appeal also shows.

"After the act of occupation of June 28, 1940, Bessarabia, northern Bukovina and Herta were torn away from the country and the Romanians in the respective territories were placed under detention by the Soviet occupation regime," the appeal points out. "That state of detention continues today even if the Soviet Union no longer is what it used to be and even if the Republic of Moldova, which is only a part of the occupied Romanian territory, proclaimed its independence. We can liquidate this state of detention and humiliation, which no other people in Europe has known, only after all the consequences of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact have been removed de jure and de facto."

The appeal calls attention to the fact that "the further promotion of the policy concerning the existence of two Romanian states might lead to a substitution of the real problem, that of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact, and of its consequences on our country, which might pose further obstacles to the realization of the dream of all Romanians—national and statal independence and unity."

EC Attitude Toward Balkans, Cooperation Viewed

AU1411144591 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 12 Nov 91 p 8

[Andrei Alexandru article "How To Please the Common Market..."]

[Text] Some of the ideas that made an appearance in the seminar "The Economic Policy Promoted by the Common Market in the Balkans" seem to raise a few questions. Here are, for instance, a few paragraphs from the speech given by Mr. Abel Matutes, member of the EC Commission. We do not know to whom to ascribe the ideas contained in his speech, but, given the position he holds in the EC, we are inclined to believe that his position is that of the Commission to which he belongs. After saying that "the Common Market is aware that it has to assume its role and responsibility in the Balkans," in the final part of the speech he leaves it up to Greece to take the initiative to seek the most appropriate forms of cooperation. "Our Greek friends, who represent Balkan resources and traditions, will seek forms for economic, trade, cultural, and scientific cooperation." There is no reason to doubt the goodwill and sincere friendship of Greece, but naturally the question arises: How will Greece be able to fulfill this difficult mission when facing its own economic difficulties at this time? An oppressive foreign debt, the highest inflation rate within the Common Market—22 percent—and a number of social movements that seem to be intensifying of late. But let us continue with Mr. Matutes' speech and the interest shown in EC cooperation with the Balkan countries. "Negotiations in connection with Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia obtaining associate status have reached their final stage. On 1 October, the Commission was authorized by the EC General Affairs Commission to initiate exploratory discussions to grant the same status to Bulgaria." Thus, among all the Balkan countries—with the exception of Greece—the only country that has

started off on this road is Bulgaria. To be completely honest, we wish our Bulgarian neighbors nothing but prosperity, but we ask ourselves the question: What is the rationale in choosing this country? Has Bulgaria a higher economic potential than Romania? No. Has Bulgaria paid off its foreign debt of more than $10 billion? No. In this context, there would only be the hypothesis that general election returns in Bulgaria were in accordance with the expectations of those who decide the policy of the Common Market. Thus, the thing for us tp do now is to enquire for whom we should vote in the coming election, so that we, too, will be taken into consideration, and not just formally.

Miners' Union, Officials Discuss Salaries

AU1511063291 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2007 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 14/11/1991—At the close of the Thursday, November 14 interview Prime Minister Theodor Stolojan had with representatives of the Jiu Valley Mining Union Federation, the latter's leader, Miron Cosma, said "the miners' leaders were open to dialogue, but if the line is followed of haughtiness, of not talking with those in contact with people and their problems, the governors won't be the first to lose, but us all."

For his part, Mihu Biji, special representative of the government in the Government-Trade Union Commission, said the Thursday, November 14 sitting was convened at the request of the Jiu Valley Mining Union Federation.

Discussions started with the list of claims announced in September, when following the riots in Bucharest of a few thousands of Jiu Valley coal miners, Petre Roman's government laid down its mandate. The list was discussed item by item and solutions proposed, considering Romania's possibilities and resources, said Mr. Biji. He added that for certain aspects, such as the quality of bread or medical care, considered to be at a level below that of the rest of the country, a program was drawn up, to monitor the concrete way to solve these problems and ensure a living standard comparable with that in the rest of the country.

As for the indexing of salaries and pensions, the representatives of the Jiu Valley miners unions told their opinions, which is going to be taken into account when conclusions will be drawn, no later than Saturday, November 16, on the talks held with trade unions on this subject matter. Realistic solutions are sought, mentioned Mr. Biji. He also said that he hoped the mining union leaders understood that dysfunctions in Jiu Valley coal basin were not of local significance but could affect the whole country and the whole economy.

Article Notes Changes, Leanings Within FSN

AU1411135891 Bucharest CURIERUL NATIONAL in Romanian 9 Nov 91 pp 1-2

[Paul Dobrescu article "Mr. Roman's Wager"]

[Text] The discussions that were held on the afternoon of 7 November within the Steering Council of the National Salvation Front [FSN] lasted for five hours. Tangible measures were taken in the organizational area, and a number of changes were made: Two vice presidents of the Steering Council (Vasile Secares and Liviu Muresan) were replaced by Dolj County Deputy Radu Berceanu and Hunedoara County Deputy Ioan Timis respectively. Deputy George Stancov will take the place of former FSN spokesman Alexandru Dumitrescu, who, in turn, will hold the position of a state secretary, while Senator Ionel Aichimoaie will deal with trade union affairs, because Mr. Ion Moldovan is now in charge of youth affairs. Finally, let us mention the creation, within the Front, of a group for economic analysis headed by Mr. Eugen Dijmarescu, a group that also plans to attract specialists from the state activity.

A first remark: The national leader of the Front has rediscovered the importance of the formation he is leading. As proved, executive power may or may not last. But, returning to the subject of power, a solid formation is needed. Is the ex-prime minister right to be dissatisfied? Undoubtedly, yes! The Front, as a party, is not to be envied by any means. In several counties, the number of its members has decreased, but it is also true that this formation still has considerable weight in the preferences of the electorate. For instance, prior to the mineriad in September, the Front held 31 percent. and after it held 34 percent. Thus, the moment the winds of violence began to blow, the electoral chances of the Front rose. But it was not the Front's intrinsic force of attraction that favored the respective move, but rather a specific situation. However, a respectable party cannot feed on situations alone; in other words, it cannot rely solely on other people's mistakes.

Within this framework, we may ask ourselves what are the significance of the changes "at the top." First, let us note that these changes are much more limited than we were initially given to understand. Mr. Adrian Severin and Vladimir Pasti "escaped." Why? Maybe the party leader adopted the small-steps method, which is less risky. Does Mr. Roman want a more dynamic leadership? That is possible, but, at the same time, he wants it to be more obedient and attached to his own line.

I think that there is another explanation in this respect. In the latter part of his governing, Mr. Roman faced a more determined opposition both within the parliamentary group and his own party. It was not the general direction toward reform that was questioned, but—so to say—the tactics, the way it was applied, and, especially, the imperfect cooperation between the party, the executive power, and the parliamentary group. His initial measures as the leader—surely based on the lack of

tangible results in the various areas of the Front—were also aimed in this direction, namely to split a possible opposition and to strengthen the instrumental character of his own formation.

In what direction will the Front as a political formation develop? Before this discussion, it was said that the liberal orientation promoted by its leader is gaining weight. Now it has been emphasized that the political line will be social democratic. This is, we believe, the party's true Achilles' heel. The frontists sense this and for the coming period have programmed a political debate focusing exactly on these problems. The debates will take place, but the leader, as a political figure, realizes that the outside world wants him to be more liberal and more of a reformer. At the same time, he knows that those inside the party lean toward a social democratic alternative or toward a policy in which the elements characteristic of social democracy are well represented. As a person, he is leaning toward a preponderantly liberal policy; as party leader he realizes that he cannot abandon the social-democratic road without taking great risks. However, his greatest ambition, compared with which all the others that are colorless, is to be and to embody the image of a reformer. That he may be called a liberal reformer or a social democratic reformer is of less interest to him. His ambition is to be a reformer—that is his personal wager.

Article Warns of Danger Posed by Nationalism

AU0711194991 Bucharest DREPTATEA in Romanian 29 Oct pp 1-2

[Mariana Sipos article: "And What About Romanians Driven Away by Romanians?"]

[Text] Once cold has settled in our apartments, just like during the Ceausescu period, we receive the last report on the conflict in Yugoslavia: as of June, when the conflict started, and up to now, 5,000 dead, thousands of wounded, and 350,000 refugees have been registered. The figures are told quickly, giving us just enough time to put on another pullover, following the recommendations from the same beloved leader of the time of the "traditional Romanian-Yugoslav friendship," which were periodically sanctioned by comradely meetings from half way on the Iron Gates bridge.

While out in the fields, the first snowflakes start falling on the wheat that has still not been harvested because of lack of fuel for the harvesting combines, we learn from well-informed sources that Romania is delivering oil to Serbia. Might this be a modest assistance granted to the Federal Army, especially now when Bosnia and Hercegovina are ready to follow the Croatian "model"?

The Federative Republic, maintained with difficulty by the communist regime, is falling apart to the roar of tanks. The earth is shaking at a few steps distance from us, and we are living under a volcano. In this situation—we are saying it without irony—the current leaders of Romania should indeed do all they can for our tranquillity. However it seems that they, in a programmatic way, crush underfoot their own electoral slogan; instead of tranquillity, we get panic launched and maintained with perfidious concern for the destiny of our country, as if they were asking themselves, "why should we not have our own conflict?"

As a result, the "Report of the Commission for Hearing People Who After 22 December Had To Leave Their Jobs and Homes in Harghita and Covasna Counties" is read in the Parliament exactly at this moment.

The reading went on as any reading should, because other reports have been read in the Parliament before; however, none of them has been discussed and debated like this one. On Monday, 28 October 1991, the discussions were to continue and to be broadcast on television, so one cannot help asking: What is the goal this time? If 100 Hungarian extremists (that is the figure reached even by the National Salvation Front parliamentarians) committed such serious acts of violence—and we do not doubt the correctness of the information included in the report—was there need for a parliamentary commission that included 25 senators and deputies? Would it have been natural for the police and the prosecutor's office to fulfill their duties in time, to prevent the accumulation of tension and their aggravation? At least now—after the report had been read and discussed—will the local authorities take normal measures, that have been delayed so long?

The public opinion in our country and abroad has sensed that the presentation of the report actually has electoral goals, just like the sudden interest of the national leader in Transylvania (sole leader—since only the Front can have such a thing!) proves it. After the childish maneuver to put into mailboxes the miniposters of the Front, which "does not give up on" its miracle-working reform, now parliamentary debates are suggested about the real tragedy of certain people, victims of Hungarian extremism, that also includes lists of people and of communists leaders driven away from the two counties.

However, have all country first secretaries, with all their aides, run away immediately after 22 December 1989, because "even a blind person can see that it is healthy to run," without blaming the Hungarians for it?

Leaving nicely behind their homes, that were a present from the party, they went where they could, and after they had received a three-month salary integrally, they stayed hidden until they saw that the devil is not as black as it seemed in the beginning. So they started looking around among themselves and started helping each other. They even dared to come back to their little cottages left behind in certain county seats to collect their belongings; then they "were forced" to leave definitively their homes, because they had just found a small job far from the maddening crowd, either with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or with the Romanian Information Service, or...or....

If the recent posters of the Front, that remember that "only in unity can we ensure Romania's democratic

revival," seem ridiculous from the viewpoint of hatred sowing actions orchestrated from above, the manipulation of the national sentiment—in the context of the increasing interethnic conflicts in the Balkans—is an outright act of political irresponsibility.

To rediscover the pride of your own nation does not mean to automatically stir hostility in others. This is not the way to serve freedom; this is not the way to pull the Romanian nation out of misery. Nationalism has been the hotbed of many wars, and to continue maintaining it is a much too dangerous game of playing with fire. The Romanian population in Harghita and Covasna Counties, who suffered after December 1989, should have been protected then, through concrete measures and not now with inflamed discussions and debates.

But, since in our country nothing is being done in time, wheat is rotting in the field, the imported potatoes have not arrived yet, and other reports formerly presented to the Parliament (for example the report on the 13-15 June 1990 events) are still waiting to be discussed. The more the economic situation deteriorates, the greater the national and ethnic conflict in East European countries becomes—as a Western journalist said once. Since it is fall anyway and it is cold, and since our refrigerators are empty and our heaters are cold, and since lies and the contempt for the ordinary people have again become a principle of governing, to the effect that Romanians leave everything behind and go, and go one after the other, forming dark clouds on the horizon, when can we expect a parliamentary investigation about those Romanians who had to leave their own country—driven away by Romanians?

International

UNICEF Delegation on Humanitarian Mission

Jovic Hails Efforts

LD1411224191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1806 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 14 (TANJUG)—Member of the Yugoslav state Presidency Borisav Jovic stated today that the Presidency was praising highly and giving full support to the actions taken by UNICEF to help children in Yugoslavia's war zones.

In a talk with a UNICEF delegation now on its humanitarian mission in this country, Jovic pointed to the indispensability of the international community's assistance because of huge proportions of destruction and suffering. Prerequisites for the termination of these sufferings, he said, were a cessation of armed fighting and the seeking of a peaceful solution.

The UNICEF delegation head, Donald Alan, familiarized Jovic with the activities and programs of relief for children in embattled areas, and with the efforts to coordinate this assistance on the part of UNICEF, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, and the International Red Cross Committee.

A representative of the U.N. commissioner, Daniel Belami, stated today that the extension of aid to the displaced persons in Yugoslavia was well organized, but moneys begin to be lacking, just as food, medicines, footwear and articles of dress for about half a million refugees.

In the past few days, Belami with UNICEF and Red Cross representatives have toured all Yugoslav republics and provinces.

On the basis of their report, the U.N. commissioner for refugees' representative in Geneva would draw up a report on displaced persons in Yugoslavia and proceed it to the competent U.N. agencies and the secretary general of the world organization.

The U.N. high commissioner for refugees in Yugoslavia is also expected to extend additional relief in foodstuffs, medicines, blankets, and other articles needed by near under 500,000 refugees over a period of half a year.

Boat Carrying Ministers Fired on

LD1511130191 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Here is a recording and a cry for help from the commander of the hydrofoil Krila Dubrovnika, which is carrying two UNICEF ministers:

[Begin recording] Whoever sees us, please, two ministers—a French and an Italian minister—this is an international UNICEF ship; it has the permission of all the authorities to proceed toward Dubrovnik, to proceed toward Dubrovnik. On board the ship are members of the crew and two ministers, and two ministers accompanying this UNICEF ship. Please [word indistinct] shots are being fired—I do not know from where. Please [words indistinct]. Where should we head for? Inform us. [end recording]

According to our information, fire was opened on the Krila Dubrovnika hydrofoil from occupying ship number 34. This is yet further evidence that the enemy is pulling no punches and is not respecting even the UNICEF flag.

Ship Docks in Rijea Port

LD1511140491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1431 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Rijeka, Nov 15 (TANJUG)—The hydrofoil "Krila Dubrovnik" (Dubrovnik's Wings), sailing under the UNICEF flag, docked in the port of Rijea, Yugoslav Republic of Croatia today, as the first of a flotilla of six more vessels which are waiting in Italian ports to sail to the Croatian coastal town of Dubrovnik and, as minister in the Italian Government Margerita Noniver has told newsmen, evacuate a hundred children or so and take them to safety.

Further on Leaders Meeting With Lord Carrington

Izetbegovic Talks Held in Sarajevo

AU1411155491 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Lord Carrington visited Sarajevo today and had talks with Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina. A session of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina is under way at which Izetbegovic is due to brief Presidency members on the course of the talks with Carrington.

Carrington left Sarajevo at about 1330 GMT.

Izetbegovic Assesses Discussion

AU1411211291 Sarajevo Radio Sarajevo Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Risto Djogo report]

[Text] Three issues dominated today's meeting between Alija Izetbegovic and Lord Carrington: the blue helmets, the continuation of The Hague Conference, and the sanctions against Yugoslavia.

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] In regard to the first issue, the blue helmets, Lord Carrington said that the condition [for their deployment] is to establish an effective cease-fire. He has supposedly agreed on something like that for the 13th time in the talks with Tudjman, Kadijevic, and Milosevic. Otherwise, this is the condition for the continuation of the conference itself. It will not begin until a cease-fire has been established.

Replying to my question on whether he thought that the cease-fire will be established, he expressed mild pessimism that this will happen.

As regards [Izetbegovic corrects himself] we have ourselves raised the question of sanctions. We told him that we sent a request to Van den Broek to exempt Bosnia-Hercegovina from these restrictions. He showed understanding for this, saying that if anyone should be exempted, then this should certainly be Bosnia-Hercegovina. He will support this. This will be discussed at another level, however, at the level of the Twelve.

In connection with this, I would like to present to you a new idea. As you known, [Macedonian] President Gligorov was here. He came to meet Lord Carrington, and we used the opportunity to hold talks. We agreed that Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia should make a joint move and ask the Twelve to exempt them from the restrictions, that is, sanctions. There is another idea connected with this, an idea that will most probably be worked out in two to three days and be presented in the form of a request. To prevent the damage that may arise, [the EC] should provide certain assistance to Bosnia-Hercegovina and Macedonia. I refer to financial aid that would compensate these areas for damage that they may incur. [end recording]

As regards the possible arrival of the blue helmets in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Izetbegovic said:

[Begin Izetbegovic recording] We raised the idea of the blue helmets possibly being deployed in Bosnia-Hercegovina in the future. He said that the deployment of the blue helmets should be first agreed on for Croatia, in the territories where there are clashes—after they stop, of course. The very arrival of the blue helmets in this area would probably have a pacifying effect and would be useful for the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina. He believes that clashes will not take place here. I think that the arrival of UN troops in Croatia would be a positive factor. [end recording]

Finally, replying to a journalists' question whether Izetbegovic shared Lord Carrington's view that clashes will not take place in Bosnia-Hercegovina, Alija Izetbegovic said: Yes, we share the same view.

Secretariat Explains Visit

LD1411174791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1555 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 14 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat spokesman Srdjan Kerim today said that the basic purpose of the latest visit to Yugoslavia of Lord Carrington, chairman of The Hague conference on Yugoslavia, was the cessation of hostilities and introduction of a ceasefire.

"It is obviously the intention of Lord Carrington to ensure the indispensable conditions for the resumption of the conference in The Hague, and the answer to the question when will the conference resume work depends on progress in the process of the establishment of a stable cease-fire and peace," spokesman Kerim told a regular news conference in Belgrade today.

Asked about what Lord Carrington and Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Loncar discussed during their meeting yesterday, Kerim said that "it is the privilege of diplomacy to select the degree of discretion"—which has this time obviously been the choice of Lord Carrington, and the decision of the Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat to respect his wish.

"I hope that the discretion will pay off in the end," spokesman Kerim observed.

Tudjman Adviser Issues Communique

LD1411181891 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Communique by Mario Nobilo, foreign policy adviser to the office of the president of the Republic of Croatia, issued on 14 November—read by announcer]

[Text] Following speculations made by some sections of the foreign and domestic press that the principles of The Hague conference are allegedly being abandoned as well as the principle that borders must not be changed and that some other innovations are being introduced by Lord Carrington's so-called new plan, I want—as one of the participants in yesterday's talks in Graz—to inform the public about the following:

As President Tudjman confirmed in his statement to Croatian television, Lord Carrington did not offer any new plan in Graz. The only new element is Lord Carrington's wish to seriously consider the possibility of dispatching peace forces to the crisis areas. This is why yesterday's talks, attended by representatives of the EC Observer Mission, dealt mostly with the way and location of implementing them as well as with their deadlines. Lord Carrington stressed that this could be considered seriously only if the conditions were met for a stable cease-fire and the Army's withdrawal from Croatia—in line with the agreement of 19 October this year. Lord Carrington expressed his satisfaction with a report by the head of the Observer Mission, Mr. Van Houten, stating that Croatia was consistently fulfilling its share of the obligations regarding the lifting of its blockade of garrisons.

It was stressed that further withdrawals of the army from all of Croatia should draw on positive experiences such as that of Jastrebarsko—withdrawal beyond Croatia's borders, EC monitoring ensuring that those forces are not used against Croatia and splitting up property that is stationed on the premises. Not only that the Hague principles have not been abandoned but Lord Carrington was glad to hear the news that the Croatian Assembly and the Croatian Government had supported the draft plan for convening the conference in The Hague. The criteria were also discussed for defining

those areas to which minorities' special status should be applied—at least a 50 percent majority, the 1991 census, arbitration.

Lord Carrington made it clear that the principle of the immutability of borders ought to be respected, Mario Nobilo's statement notes.

Markovic Asks EC To Reconsider Sanctions

LD1411204991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1832 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 14 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Federal Government of Prime Minister Ante Markovic today appealed to the European Community to reconsider its decision on the introduction of economic sanctions against Yugoslavia, and stressed that those sanctions would primarily affect innocent population in all Yugoslav republics.

A statement issued after a Federal Government session in Belgrade today said that the Federal Government urged the E.C. to continue offering good offices in the quest of a solution to the war drama in Yugoslavia, which it said would imply the resumption of The Hague Peace Conference.

The statement said that, at today's session chaired by Prime Minister Markovic, the Federal Government discussed the E.C. declaration on Yugoslavia, which contains the decision on the economic sanctions, and also steps and measures which the Yugoslav Federal Government, itself, must take to eliminate the causes which have led to the introduction of the sanctions and to ease the consequences of those sanctions.

The initial data, presented to the Federal Government today, shows that Yugoslavia and its entire population will find themselves in an extremely difficult situation as a result of the E.C. sanctions.

That is the reason why the Federal Government expressed its disapproval of the E.C. move.

The Yugoslav Federal Government drew attention to the fact that the E.C. economic sanctions would be counterproductive in many ways, although they were designed to sober up all those who were responsible for the extended state of war and who wrongly believed that Yugoslav problems could be solved through war.

The Yugoslav Federal Government discussed also an information about current issues in relations with foreign creditors and foreign-credit payments. It assessed that the failure even partially to meet the respective obligations could bring about a direct application of financial sanctions against Yugoslavia.

The Federal Government stressed that the Yugoslav Central Bank was, therefore, obliged to continue regularly to service the foreign loans guaranteed by the federation or the Yugoslav Central Bank, itself.

Macedonia, Bosnia Seek Exemption From Sanctions

LD1411221291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1917 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Skopje, 14 Nov (TANJUG)—Immediately after returning from Sarajevo, where he had talks with Lord Carrington, chairman of the conference on Yugoslavia, Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov said that he and Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency President Alija Izetbegovic had agreed that they would send a letter to the EC demanding that the sanctions against Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina be selective, since these two republics and their policies have not contributed to this current situation in Yugoslavia.

Gligorov particularly stressed that he had demanded of the EC that it should try to apply the sanctions against Macedonia and Bosnia-Hercegovina to a lesser extent, since these two republics had no part in the war and conflicts.

He said that Lord Carrington would support his initiative that the EC urgently adopt measures that would exempt Macedonia from the sanctions or introduce compensation for the consequences of the economic blockade.

Since, as Gligorov said, recognition of Slovenia and Croatia is now being considered, he demanded of Lord Carrington to also advocate recognition for Macedonia, stressing that this could only be viable once Macedonia has adopted its constitution.

The Macedonian president also said that Lord Carrington maintained that the chances of resolving the Yugoslav crisis were slightly better, but one should nevertheless wait for reports from the crisis areas.

According to Gligorov, Carrington categorically said that The Hague conference would not continue unless a total cease-fire was established.

Customs To Clear EC Earmarked Goods

LD1411190491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1627 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 14 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Customs Administration will today clear goods earmarked for the European Community countries according to the regime applied so far, the Federal Government said in a statement today.

Since the E.C. sanctions against Yugosalvia will come into force on November 15, the Customs Administration will operate round the clock today, the statement adds.

At the request of the economic sector, the Customs Administration will continue issuing certificates on the origin of goods, regardless of the restrictions, the government said.

The E.C. introduced the sanctions last Friday [8 November], after its efforts to mediate in the Yugoslav crisis had failed.

Secretariat Denies UN Troop Request Sent Late

LD1411211491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1744 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 14 (TANJUG)—The letter of the Presidency of Yugoslavia to the U.N. Security Council, in which the Presidency urges the Council to send "blue helmets" to Yugoslavia, was not sent late, as spokesman of the Yugoslav Federal Foreign Secretariat Srdjan Kerim stated today.

Kerim told a regular news conference that, "on the contrary, the letter was sent too early, on Saturday, November 9, meaning during the weekend, which is acknowledged in the United Nations, too."

The spokesman said that the Security Council president had the letter as early as on Monday, November 11, and that he had informed of that the head of the Yugoslav mission to the U.N., Ambassador Darko Silovic.

Spokesman Kerim said that a letter of similar contents from Yugoslav Presidency President Stijepan Mesic was sent directly to the address of the Security Council president, "that is, it went without the 'services' of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs," as the spokesman specified.

Kerim said that both letters, just as some others, were not treated at the United Nations as official contacts with Yugoslav authorities. Kerim explained that that was the reason why the Security Council president had decided to acquaint the other members of the Council with the contents of the letters and to open informal consultations.

Observing that the U.N. Security Council was at the moment primarily concerned with the issue of a possible embargo on oil deliveries to Yugoslavia, spokesman Kerim set out that it depended on the informal consultations whether the request for the deployment of "blue helmets" would be put on the Council agenda.

Kerim recalled that Yugoslavia was not a member of the Security Council and that it was not, therefore, included in the informal consultations, consultations which he said would be extremely important for decisions to be made later. "The fact that we are not a member of the Security Council does not prevent us from acting towards it, which we are doing through our mission in New York," spokesman Kerim said.

The spokesman set out that, instructed by the Federal Foreign Secretariat, the Yugoslav mission to the New York U.N. Headquarters had already taken a "preventive action" so as to most energetically oppose the embargo on oil deliveries.

Mesic Wants UN Forces Along Serbian Borders

LD1511001791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1839 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Bonn, Nov 14 (TANJUG)—President of the Yugoslav state Presidency Stjepan Mesic had a talk in Bonn today with German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher primarily about the internal boundaries in Yugoslavia, as inferred from an announcement.

"A lasting solution to Yugoslavia's crisis presumes the respect of the borders and the disrespect of taking hold of territories," the announcement quoted Genscher as reaffirming the stand of his government during his meeting with Mesic.

The Yugoslav state Presidency, which has been sitting in its incomplete composition in Belgrade since October 3 presided over by its Vice President Branko Kostic, sent last Saturday [9 November] request to the United Nations to send in "blue helmets" to Croatia to form a buffer zone along the battlefront in this Yugoslav republic.

Mesic upheld the invitation to a U.N. peacekeeping force but he also requested that this force should be deployed along the boundaries of the Yugoslav Republic of Serbia with the Yugoslav Republics of Croatia, Bosnia-Hercegovina, and Macedonia.

"We are hopeful that all the sides concerned would reach accord on how a peacekeeping force could be stationed in Yugoslavia. Such a step may help stability and build up confidence. I have underlined that the stationing of peacekeeping troops must not be conducive to changes of borders," Genscher concluded in his talk with Mesic, as was announced.

Mesic arrived in his surprise visit to Bonn today, and while the German Foreign Ministry confirmed his meeting with Genscher, there has been no official confirmation of his meeting also with Chancellor Helmut Kohl, as TANJUG's correspondent learned unofficially.

TANJUG's correspondent could not learn anything about the whereabouts or the timetable of Mesic's visit in Bonn.

Press Views Effects of Possible UN Oil Embargo

LD1411190191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1729 GMT 14 Nov 91

[By Milan Cvjeticanin]

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 14 (TANJUG)—The European Community sanctions against Yugoslavia will affect both its economy and people, say most of economic analysts in Yugoslavia .

On November 8, the Community adopted a package of restrictive measures against Yugoslavia, including a suspension of the trade cooperation agreement, exclusion of Yugoslavia from the general list of preferences and the

phare programme for Eastern European countries, and introduction of limits to textile quotas.

It was also proposed that the E.C. foreign ministers urge the U.N. Security Council to take steps for imposing an oil embargo and to tighten the ban on arms deliveries to Yugoslavia.

According to the first reactions in the Yugoslav Secretariat for Foreign Economic Relations, the sanctions are especially heavy because they are being imposed at the time when Yugoslavia has oriented itself towards Europe in the area of trade. The share of trade with the E.C. has increased from 20 to almost 60 per cent of the country's overall trade in the past decade.

According to the Yugoslav Chamber of Commerce (PKJ), of the 12 billion 984 million dollars earned from exports in the first nine months of this year, 58.6 per cent accounted for exports to the E.C. countries. Accounting for 30 per cent of Yugoslavia's overall exports to the E.C., Germany is its leading export market there, followed by Italy with 16.4 per cent, and France with 4.2 per cent.

Similar figures are recorded in the Yugoslav imports. German goods accounted for 25.7 per cent of the overall imports in the period, Italian for 13.1 per cent, and French for 4.8 per cent.

Bosnia-Hercegovina's exports to the E.C. countries account for 60.7 per cent of the republican total, that of Montenegro for 60 per cent, of Croatia for 63.2 per cent, of Serbia for 49.4 per cent, of Macedonia for 40.7 per cent, and of Slovenia for 67.5 per cent.

The damages from the suspension of the Yugoslavia-E.C. trade agreement, which will hit the textile and the food industries the hardest, are estimated at between 600 and 700 dollars, reporters were told at the Yugoslav Government.

PKJ President Vlajko Stojiljkovic said it was not possible to apply the E.C. sanctions selectively. They will affect the economy of the country as a whole, since the Yugoslav economy is integrated into both the European and the global economic trends.

The measures applying to the import of textiles from Yugoslavia will particularly hit the Croatian economy, says the Zagreb weekly DANAS, because this economic branch employs about 90,000 people and generates almost 300 million dollars in export revenues a year.

DANAS quotes economic analysts as saying that Serbia may lose three billion dollars in the next 12 months alone, and Croatia—unless exempted from the sanctions and compensated for the damage—two billion dollars.

The introduction of an oil embargo, which the E.C. will seek from the Security Council, would only intensify war operations, says DANAS.

According to statistical figures, Yugoslavia annually imports about 10 million tons of crude, of which two million are refined in Serbia. According to press reports, the Yugoslav Army has oil reserves for one year, so that an embargo would mostly affect the people.

Belgrade economist Ljubomir Madzar, former advisor to the Ante Markovic government, writes in the Belgrade weekly NIN that there will be many difficulties in applying the sanctions, because modern business is not "a commanded economy" and because there will always be those who will benefit from violating the sanctions.

According to Madzar, the sanctions would particularly affect the import of raw materials, which would in turn bring about a further decline in production and employment.

Red Cross Mission Urges Sides To Solve Conflict

LD1411180191 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1614 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 14 (TANJUG)—The Geneva-based International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) on Thursday [14 November] called the confronted sides in Yugoslavia to urgently send their representatives to a meeting devoted to the resolving of "serious humanitarian problems currently burdening the country."

The meeting should be held in Geneva "without delay," it says in a letter delivered to TANJUG by the Red Cross Belgrade mission.

The letter says that the situation in which the civilian population in Yugoslavia is at present has been deteriorating dramatically and that the incessant fighting has dramatically increased the number of casulties.

The Red Cross warns that the personnel engaged in providing first aid are not able to evacuate the wounded and help civilians, which, it recalls, is the basic prerequisite of international humanitarian law.

Despite difficulties, the ICRC is preparing aid to be sent to Yugoslavia by sea, says the letter.

The ICRC again appealed that the lives of the innocent be spared and called the fighters to respect the basic humanitarian principles in all situations.

Bosnia Economic Delegation Visits Albania

LD1511071191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2108 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Ohrid, 14 Nov (TANJUG)—The economic delegation of Bosnia-Hercegovina led by Fikret Abdic, member of the Presidency of this republic, today visited Albania.

In the Albanian Ministry for Foreign Cooperation, Abdic held talks on the establishment of economic

cooperation between Bosnia-Hercegovina and Albania on the basis of mutual interests.

Albanian television tonight reported that Fikret Abdic was also received in Tirana by Muhamet Kapplani, Albanian minister of foreign affairs.

Federal

Defense Official: JNA Will Not Accept UN Forces

LD1511112691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1053 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 15 (TANJUG)—Assistant Yugoslav Secretary for Defence, Lieutenant General Marko Negovanovic, said that the Yugoslav People's Army (JNA) would not accept a deployment of a United Nations peacekeeping force on the border between the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Croatia.

"We shall not accept," he replied to a question by a NIN journalist if the Army would accept a deployment of the "Blue Berets" on the existing—administrative—republican borders.

In the interview, which was published today, Negovanovic stressed that a consequence of such a decision by the United Nations would be a "continuation of the conflict."

He explained his view by a fear that the role of the "Blue Berets," if they were deployed in such a manner, would be to secure Croatia's secession.

He evidenced his thesis by claiming that such a positioning of the peacekeeping force "enjoys support in the Croatian leadership," and that the president of the Yugoslav Presidency, Stjepan Mesic, a Croat, had asked in Rome recently for the creation of a buffer zone around Serbia.

Cautioning that a "peacekeeping force is not a combat force," and that its arrival "does not in itself mean a withdrawal of the JNA," negovanovic signalled that the Army would "remain in the crisis zones... until a political solution" to Yugoslavia's problems alongside the "Blue Berets."

"Regardless of everything, we... who want to live in Yugoslavia, shall win what we are ready to win and defend with a sabre," Negovanovic told NIN, adding: "There where our soldier sets down and keeps his foot that can also be defended politically."

Secretariat Plans 'Necessary Steps' on Sanctions

LD1411184391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1649 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 14 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Federal Government, i.e., the Federal Foreign Secretariat will take the necessary steps with international institutions and foreign governments and warn them of the consequences which could result from the application of sanctions against Yugoslavia, as Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat spokesman Srdjan Kerim stated today.

Spokesman Kerim told a regular news conference that some steps had already been taken in connection with the sanctions, and singled out the activity of the Yugoslav mission to GATT in Geneva.

The Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat spokesman said that the "situation in Yugoslavia is very difficult," and that it "not only gives rise to the concern of the international community but also induces the use of various forms of pressure with a view to establishing peace in Yugoslavia."

Kostic Addresses Assembly on Presidency Stand

AU1511122291 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1008 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Speech by Branko Kostic, vice president of the SFRY Presidency, at a joint session of the two chambers of the SFRY Assembly in Belgrade—live]

[Text] Esteemed President, respected delegates:

Yugoslavia has been living through the most dramatic moments in its history. The crisis and war conflict loom over its destiny and have caused great anxiety and uncertainty.

Under such conditions we must demonstrate our awareness of our own responsibility and make our contribution to stopping the chaos and violence that are bringing no good to anybody. This is what is expected and demanded of us by our citizens and particularly by the young generations who want to see life, creativity, and cooperation in peace and freedom, in an open and dignified manner without fear and violence of any kind.

I am addressing the SFRY Assembly on behalf of the SFRY Presidency at a time when the Yugoslav state and political crisis has acquired dangerous proportions and when special responsibility, resoluteness, adherence to principle, and a sense of clear direction in solving this crisis are demanded of the highest organs of power. In this respect, I am going to present to you our views, and the efforts, initiatives, and proposals we have made with a view to stopping armed conflicts, preventing an all-out civil war, and finding political solutions for a peaceful outcome to our crisis.

The security and survival of Yugoslavia as a federal state community are now directly endangered. This situation is the consequence of autarkic and disintegrational processes in the political and economic life of the country which began a long time ago and which have been encouraged for a long time and in different ways and have acquired catastrophic dimensions. These processes have inevitably led to the country breaking up and to the

growth of nationalism and interethnic and inter-republic conflicts with tragic consequences.

The Yugoslav state and political crisis has not been caused by accident or the current situation, but by relations and interests in the country and abroad, as well as by the revival and resumed activity of these forces that have never had Yugoslavia in their hearts. Provisions in the political and economic system of the country built into the SFRY Constitution of 1974 have served these interests and aims.

The adoption of new republican constitutions has shattered the constitutional-legal system. The acts of secession in Slovenia and Croatia have suspended it completely. The practice of totally ignoring or neglecting joint interests of the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities is becoming widespread. The economy is in a state of collapse and the work of the federal institutions is blocked. This threatens the external and internal security of the country.

Armed interethnic clashes with enormous human casualties and material destruction have taken place in one part of the country and threaten to spread to other parts of the country. The sudden and increasingly widespread militarization of society is evident. This is being done through the creation of illegal and numerous republican and party military formations, the hiring of saboteurs and mercenaries from abroad, and the secret import of arms, especially in the Republic of Croatia, which has caused an understandable feeling of insecurity and anxiety among the Serbian people in this republic and led to their self-organization and armed defense.

The resistance and fight by the Serbian people have also been induced by the historic memories of the genocide carried out by the quisling independent state of Croatia of 50 years ago.

In the last few months, heavy armed clashes have been fought on a large part of the Republic of Croatia with all the consequences that this drama entails. At the beginning of the year, the Armed Forces Supreme Command Headquarters warned the SFRY Presidency that an armed rebellion against Yugoslavia was being prepared.

The SFRY Presidency also warned about the intensification of interethnic confrontations, particularly in the nationally mixed communities, the accelerated creation of paramilitary formations in the Republic of Croatia, the illegal import of arms, and the widespread acquisition of arms by the citizens, as well as the illegal national and party armed formations. However, because of the well-known divisions in the presidency, the presidency could not adopt appropriate decisions to prevent the unfavorable course of events, something the public already knows.

The SFRY Presidency warned several times about the fact that so many arms were being imported into the country and that differences were such that an armed clash of wider proportions was quite certain. Armed clashes in Croatia, if one excludes the events that took place in Pakrac and Plitvice, started with full ferocity only a few days after the SFRY Presidency had addressed this assembly. The Presidency tried to prevent these clashes by, above all, issuing warnings to everyone in the country, and by informing the international public about the causes and tragic consequences of them.

Our stands regarding the fact that arms were being imported into Croatia, the number of members of the police units was rapidly increasing, party armed formations were being set up, and considerable amounts of money were being secured without any control, were disputed, and, in the Republic of Croatia, rejected. At the same time the Federal Executive Council and other responsible state organs did not take any effective measures to stop this.

Interethnic armed clashes in Croatia flared up and were rightly described as an armed secessionist rebellion against Yugoslavia and the legal constitutional order, because the clash had systematically been prepared not only in order to break the anticipated resistance by the Serbian people in Croatia, but also as a war against the Yugoslav People's Army.

In the Republic of Croatia, numerous armed formations were created as combat forces through the mobilization of all forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, political parties, and the population, as well as the engagement of several thousand foreign mercenaries and other criminals. These forces include proven international terrorists and persons released from prisons in order to put on uniforms.

Unfortunately, armed clashes have already taken many victims. There are about 500,000 people who are either in flight or are refugees. They are also experiencing all the difficulties and problems in the communities that are accepting them. Material damage is enormous.

The mass persecution and pogrom directed against the Serbs has recently started in the areas where there have been no units of the Yugoslav People's Army. The most drastic example of the repeated genocide of the Serbian people in Croatia actually took place during the first days of this month on the territory of western Slavonia—territory where the Yugoslav People's Army could not protect this population. On the territory of 20 villages, 27 villages of western Slavonia inhabited by the Serbian people, the Croatian authorities ordered the total resettlement of the Serbian people from this territory within 48 hours. In the first three days of this month alone, they completely burnt down 18 Serbian villages, killed and massacred those people who had not managed to flee, and destroyed their property.

It is more than obvious that the Croatian authorities have attempted to make this area ethnically pure. It is not difficult to imagine what kind of destiny the Serbian people would have had in the other areas of Croatia had the Yugoslav People's Army not undertaken to protect these people and their property.

In the time since the start of the armed conflicts on the territory of Croatia, the SFRY Presidency has been constantly committed to ending the armed conflicts and the search for a solution so that the state political crisis can be resolved in a peaceful way.

When, at the time of the well-known events in Slovenia, the presidency was faced with the dilemma of whether or not to use force to crush the resistance of the Slovene armed formations—not wanting to accept the option of war—it was decided that through an agreement with the Slovene authorities, a temporary territorial redeployment of the Yugoslav People's Army units from the territory of Slovenia would be carried out, thereby demonstrating both to the Slovene people and the international public that, as the supreme command, the presidency does not want to use the Yugoslav People's Army as a force for imposing its will on any people.

Since the first agreement on the cessation of hostilities in the Republic of Croatia, in the last three and a half months the presidency has been party to 12 cease-fire agreements, out of which the Croatian authorities have in seven agreements accepted the obligation to unconditionally lift the blockade on the barracks and other Army premises on the territory of Croatia.

The Croatian authorities and armed formations have not respected any of these agreements and, instead of ensuring that the blockade on the barracks was lifted, the Croatian leader Tudjman announced general mobilization in Croatia two days after an agreement was reached on 4 October in The Hague.

Croatian forces have made use of every new agreement on a cease-fire to consolidate and regroup their forces, to acquire additional arms, and to widen military operations with the intention of extending armed conflicts to the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina, Montenegro, and Serbia. All attempts by the presidency to seek the solution of the Yugoslav state and political crisis in a peaceful way and in the legal institutions of the country have produced no results.

All the time, a number of presidency members, as well as the republics that had delegated these members to the SFRY Presidency, have constantly insisted on the internationalization of the Yugoslav crisis, blocking the work of the federal institutions at the same time, particularly of the SFRY Assembly, and making it impossible for these organs to come to solutions acceptable to all republics and all peoples in a constitutional way.

In signing the Brioni Declaration, Yugoslavia accepted the involvement of the EC in solving our crisis. From the very beginning, we have proceeded from the assumption that we must seek the solutions to our crisis by ourselves and within the framework of the institutions in the country and that the EC should help in finding solutions acceptable to everybody. At the same time, the EC has taken on itself the political responsibility and the guarantee that, by exerting its influence on the Slovene and Croat leaderships, it will ensure that the blockade is lifted and ensure the work of the federal institutions, above all the SFRY Assembly, SFRY Presidency, and the Federal Executive Council, and thereby the functioning of the system in general until a political solution to the crisis is found. Unfortunately, the EC has not managed to fulfill the guarantee it took on itself, so the result was a complete blocking of the work of the SFRY Assembly, as well as a serious threat to the work of the Federal Executive Council and the SFRY Presidency.

Slovenia and Croatia withdrew their delegates from the SFRY Assembly, as well as most of their Federal Executive Council members. The Slovene representative to the SFRY Presidency began a systematic obstruction of the work of the presidency, and the representative of Croatia to the presidency, in his post as president of the SFRY Presidency, made the work of the SFRY Presidency, as the collective head of state and the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces, impossible by abusing his powers and the rules of procedure of the presidency.

For one month, he refused to convene an SFRY Presidency session and did so in the conditions of increased escalation of armed clashes on the territory of Croatia. Any further paralysis of the work of the SFRY Presidency could have led to unforeseeable consequences, so in conformity with Article 328 of the SFRY Constitution, and by stating that the president was absent, that is, prevented from attending the sessions for some time, the vice president of the SFRY Presidency convened the presidency session.

At its 1 October session, with six of its members attending, the SFRY Presidency unanimously judged that the political situation in the country was dramatic and that all-out civil war was looming, and established that there was a direct danger of war in the country. On the basis of this conclusion, on 3 October the presidency switched to working under the conditions of direct danger of war thus removing the possibility of blocking the SFRY Presidency's work. Under the conditions of a direct danger of war, a constitutional legal mechanism was activated, a mechanism established in 1984, which among other things enables the presidency president, that is—in his absence or inability to attend—the vice president, to make certain decisions and execute certain powers on behalf of the presidency, along with the obligation to take all available measures with a view to having the presidency meet first or the presidency members consulted. This enables the presidency to hold sessions and to adopt majority decisions with the members present.

Blocking the federal institutions, particularly those that symbolize the sovereignty of a state, threatens, through strong pressure from internal secessionist forces and the support that they receive from abroad, the international legal legitimacy and status [subjektivitet] of Yugoslavia to a critical extent. Blocking the SFRY Presidency's work represents an attempt to prevent its work, not only as a collective head of state, but also as the supreme commander of the SFRY Armed Forces. This was also

supposed to contribute toward the breaking up of the Yugoslav People's Army as the only legal armed force capable of protecting the territorial integrity of the country and effectively preventing interethnic clashes.

At the same time, the Yugoslav People's Army was exposed to insane attacks through false propaganda, threats, and blackmail, including the physical liquidation of its members, aimed at reducing its combat readiness and breaking it up. Completely blocking the SFRY Assembly's work, and attempting to prevent the SFRY Presidency from functioning as the collective head of state, directed the process of finding a peaceful solution to the Yugoslav crisis within the European Community primarily toward the talks among the republican leaderships.

Despite this, the SFRY Presidency was actively involved in the work of the peace conference in The Hague and tried to make a constructive contribution. However, because of the pronounced influence of certain members of the EC in the work of the Hague conference, the one-sided approach to finding a solution to the political crisis increasingly gained in prominence.

Because of this, and because of the expressed hurry to complete the work as soon as possible, the opportunity to properly understand the complexity of our crisis and establish its main causes was missed. The original proposal of the Hague document proceeded from the possibility of setting up six independent sovereign states and creating a loose association without the possibility of (?ensuring respect for) the rights of those republics and peoples who are interested in remaining in the common state and in this way preserve the continuity of Yugoslavia.

This almost gave more rights to those who carried out the unilateral act of secession than to those who are interested in remaining in Yugoslavia. With the desire to give the Hague document its final form, the SFRY Presidency, together with the responsible representatives of Serbia and Montenegro, has persistently maintained that the Hague document must respect the rights of all republics and all peoples in Yugoslavia equally, and it resolutely rejects the idea of Yugoslavia being erased from the political map of the Balkans and Europe with the stroke of a pen.

The Presidency assesses today too that in every variation for solving the state and political crisis, any organ of the international community, and even of the EC, must respect the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the Paris Charter which assume the existence of Yugoslavia as a subject of international law without depriving those republics and peoples that want to secede from this Yugoslavia of this right. This was our first fundamental objection [primjedba] to the Hague document.

The other significant issue in the Hague document, on which the presidency has particularly insisted, is the solution that will permanently guarantee the legal and physical safety of the Serbian people who live in the present administrative borders of Croatia by giving them a special status. In this respect, the presidency took the stand that because of the genocide that was carried out against the Serbian people during World War II in the quisling independent state of Croatia and the danger that this genocide be repeated today too, the only permanent and peaceful solution can be to respect the right of the Serbian people to self-determination, and this means detaching [iskljucivanje] the territories with a predominantly Serbian population from the Republic of Croatia, if it becomes an independent state, with the appropriate guarantees from the international community. At the same time, the presidency has categorically adhered to the stand that the Yugoslav People's Army should protect this people until a satisfactory political solution is found.

The third question on which the presidency has insisted is the principle of legality and the demand that all solutions that may be found at The Hague conference or any other conference be definitely confirmed in a legal and constitutional way in the appropriate institutions in the country. Remaining faithful to its orientation to a peaceful resolution of the state and political crisis and the final cessation of armed conflicts in Croatia, the SFRY Presidency turned to the Security Council of the United Nations on the day that the 12th cease-fire expired, which the Croatian authorities had not respected. It demanded that the Security Council make the decision to send peace forces to the zone between the areas that are predominantly populated by the Serbian people and the areas whose population is of the Croatian nationality on the territory of the Republic of Croatia.

Even though armed conflicts in the Republic of Croatia and Croatia's attempted armed uprising against Yugoslavia are a domestic matter for Yugoslavia, the presidency turned to the Security Council with this demand for the following four reasons, which cannot be ignored by the world organization:

First, the Serbian people on the territory of Croatia are threatened with genocide for the second time in the last 50 years;

Second, the Croatian authorities have employed in their paramilitary formations a large number of foreign mercenaries and terrorists, which represents a crime against the peace, safety, and independence of the people;

Third, a consequence of the armed conflicts in Croatia is the huge number of refugees. It is estimated that approximately 500,000 citizens have left their homes in the crisis areas;

Four, foreign aid and support for Croatian militarists and separatists, which could lead to armed conflicts of far-reaching proportions and threaten the security of Europe.

The presidency assesses that sending UN peace forces would most quickly ensure that the sides in the conflict are separated and the armed conflicts cease, which would

thus create conditions for seeking a peaceful, democratic, and political solution to the Yugoslav crisis.

Respected delegates, the deepening of the state and political crisis in the country and the escalation of armed conflicts in (?the Republic) of Croatia have encouraged to an even greater extent different views and approaches in the search for the solution for the way out of the crisis.

These differences have also inevitably affected the work of certain federal institutions, which, on the basis of the existing constitution of Yugoslavia—regardless of the personal views of some individuals—were obliged to work on the preservation of Yugoslavia's (?identity) and find solutions that would not threaten the continuity of Yugoslavia as a state community.

In the SFRY Presidency's view, the Federal Secretariat for National Defense and the Federal Secretariat for Internal Affairs have recently been working according to their duties as defined by the SFRY Constitution. However, the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs did not manage [words indistinct] the diplomatic and consular offices abroad to ensure in all cases the advocacy of the Yugoslav option. The president of the Federal Executive Council and the Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs not only systematically boycotted the work of the SFRY Presidency, but during The Hague conference they did not find it necessary as federal officials to advocate that the continuation of Yugoslavia as a state community be at least on an equal footing with the other solutions that were put forward.

This has significantly reduced and seriously endangered the possibility of the Yugoslav community, and its diplomatic service, to effectively oppose the attitude toward our country that is increasingly being formed on the basis of the partial interests and strategies of certain countries. In essence, the two most responsible state organs, the SFRY Presidency and the Federal Executive Council, have worked and are working on two different tracks. The SFRY Presidency holds the view that this situation must be overcome as soon as possible.

Respected delegates, because of the violation of the agreement on the truce and the lack of agreement among the Yugoslav republics on The Hague document that has been offered, the EC has resorted to economic sanctions against Yugoslavia. In this sense it has recommended corresponding measures to the UN Security Council. In connection with this, the SFRY Presidency has assessed that economic sanctions are not the correct way to resolve our crisis. Their application could seriously endanger not only the economic entities in all parts of Yugoslavia, but the majority of our citizens. This could only make our internal crisis more acute.

The SFRY Presidency takes the view that economic sanctions represent a form of pressure and that they are incompatible with the democratic system that is being built in Europe on the principles of the CSCE and the Paris Charter.

The announced possibility of their selective application points even more to the weaknesses of the chosen path, which would mean unilateral abandonment of bilateral agreements and obligations established on the basis of the common interest for a more rapid economic and political integration in Europe, of which Yugoslavia is a constituent part.

At the same time, the SFRY Presidency believes that economic sanctions will fail to ensure the desired conditions for the continuation of the peace conference in The Hague. The SFRY Presidency expresses the hope that all countries that are called upon to implement economic sanctions against Yugoslavia will carefully and responsibly examine all these facts and that—if they truly wish to help Yugoslavia to find a way out of difficulties and internal conflicts—they will give up implementation of the sanctions.

The SFRY Presidency expresses its total willingness to continue to constructively contribute to the work of the Hague conference, as well as the work of other international bodies that could even more effectively contribute to the peaceful denouement of our crisis.

Addressing the SFRY Assembly, the presidency has limited itself to the basic and essential questions of seeking political solutions to end the war in Yugoslavia and seeking a peaceful way out of state and political crises in the country, expecting the Federal Executive Council to be able in the shortest possible time to present the delegates with a comprehensive program of economic and social measures that today's times demand.

Respected delegates, in conditions where the direct danger of war exists, the SFRY Presidency is obliged to function according to the powers established in Amendment 41 of the SFRY Constitution. Bearing in mind the difficulties in the work of the SFRY Assembly, this work of the SFRY Presidency ensures that Yugoslav institutions and Yugoslavia as a state will not completely disintegrate. The SFRY Presidency has not so far made use of its constitutional powers to make decisions that are in the jurisdiction of the SFRY Assembly. It will not do this in the future either if the SFRY Assembly creates the essential conditions for unhindered work.

It is in the interest of all the people who care about Yugoslavia being preserved that not only the SFRY Assembly but also all federal institutions should function according to constitutional obligations and responsibilities.

The SFRY Presidency will continue to insist on the Yugoslav state and the political crisis being solved in a constitutional, peaceful, and democratic way and to this end it will continue its commitment in line with the stands that it has so far supported at the conference on Yugoslavia in The Hague. An inseparable part of these efforts and a prerequisite for the political solution to the crisis is to ensure a cease-fire in the Republic of Croatia. Within this framework, the SFRY Presidency's appeal to

the UN Security Council to engage the UN peacekeeping forces in Croatia is of exceptional importance.

As the highest organ of command and leadership of the Armed Forces of the SFRY, the SFRY Presidency thinks that the Yugoslav People's Army should be preserved as the only legal and legitimate armed force that will be able to protect the peoples of Yugoslavia who want to live in it. Until a political solution is found, the Yugoslav People's Army should continue to guarantee the protection of the Serbian people on the territory of the Republic of Croatia from physical liquidation.

Respected delegates, the SFRY Presidency expects the support of the SFRY Assembly not only in its work under the conditions of the direct danger of war, but also on the basic stands that the SFRY Presidency has so far taken in seeking solutions to the Yugoslav state and political crisis. Thank you. [applause]

Federal Chamber Adopts Changes on Decisionmaking

AU1411174991 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] On the eve of tomorrow's session of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, the Legislative-Legal Commission adopted with a majority vote the conclusion on this chamber's method of work in the absence of the delegates from Slovenia and Croatia. However, it is difficult to say whether this conclusion is the right solution to the way the Federal Chamber functions. Olivija Rusovac reports from the SFRY Assembly:

[Begin Rusovac recording] The essence of the conclusion boils down to the fact that if the Slovene and Croatian delegates do not come, the Federal Chamber will be empowered to make decisions at its sessions if they are attended by the majority of the rest of the delegates. In other words, the chamber would be made up of 160 delegates. The presence of 81 delegates would ensure a quorum for its work. The adoption of decisions would require the vote of 41 delegates.

A delegate from Bosnia-Hercegovina, Borislav Krajina, opposed the conclusion on the new way in which the Federal Chamber should work. He warned on several occasions that such a text facilitates majoritarianism considering that, as he said, Serbia, Montenegro, and Vojvodina often vote in the same way. With the departure of the delegates from Slovenia and Croatia, Krajina said, the balance of power has changed, and Bosnia-Hercegovina does not want to be outvoted. Krajina therefore proposed that the Federal Chamber and the Chamber of Republics and Provinces agree to make decisions by consensus. He also proposed that the chamber's decisions be considered adopted if at least 100 delegates vote in favor of them.

Borislav Krajina's proposal were not accepted. After that, he said that tomorrow's session of the Federal Chamber may not be attended by a large number of delegates from Bosnia-Hercegovina. The kind of difficulties that the assembly is experiencing because of adopting the conclusion on the work of the truncated Federal Chamber is illustrated by the fact that the assembly lawyers demanded another discussion on the constitutional validity of the chamber by tomorrow.

Delegates from Bosnia-Hercegovina are currently meeting behind closed doors and discussing their participation in tomorrow's session of the Federal Chamber. [end recording]

Legislative Commission Decision 'Lifts' Blockade

LD1511063391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 14 (TANJUG)—A legislative commission of the Federal Chamber of the Yugoslav parliament today adopted a decision which should "lift" the blockade on the further work of the Yugoslav parliament.

According to the commission's adopted conclusion, the session of the Federal chamber of the bicameral parliament will decide tomorrow by a majority vote of delegates from those Yugoslav republics which do not boycott the work of the Yugoslav parliament.

The work of the Yugoslav parliament was blocked after the Republics of Slovenia and Croatia, which under unilateral acts proclaimed secession from Yugoslavia, stopped sending their delegates to the sessions of the highest Yugoslav legislative body.

The commission concluded that practically, the Federal Chamber would be diminished by 60 delegates, 30 from Slovenia and 30 from Croatia, so that instead of a total of 220 delegates, the Federal Chamber would number 160. Eighty-one delegates would make a quorum while to adopt a decision, 41 delegates are required to vote in favour of it, as set out.

Today's session of the Legislative Commission was not attended by delegates from the Yugoslav Republics of Slovenia, Croatia and Macedonia.

Presidency Accuses Croatia of 'Nazi' Policies

LD1511075891 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1603 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, Nov 14 (TANJUG)—The Presidency, as is said in its information to parliament, indicates that certain paramilitary formations of Croatia admit foreign mercenaries, thus perpetrating a crime according to international conventions.

JNA [Yugoslav People's Army] activities on preventing an armed mutiny of Croatia, the information says, are depicted falsely, as being a state coup, while JNA's engagement is presented as violence and use of force in a political struggle.

The Presidency points out that Croatian Armed Forces are permanently violating all cease-fire accords, including those achieved at The Hague conference on Yugoslavia. These forces, as the informaiton says next, have performed 1,085 attacks on JNA units and facilities and 101 attacks on JNA aircraft between September 1 and November 10.

In its desire to prevent any further escalation of armed conflicts, the Presidency committed itself to a peaceful option. Instead of declaring a state of war and general mobilization, the Presidency addressed the United Nations Security Council for "blue helmets" to be engaged, says the information.

The Presidency is adamant that Yugoslavia does exist, that its continuity must be ensured, and that legal procedures are indispensaable for the materialization of one's legitimate desire to break away from Yugoslavia.

In an attempt to find out a generally acceptable solution to the peaceful and democratic disentanglement of Yugoslavia's crisis, the Presidency agreed to the corresponding international initiatives as good services, it is said in the information announcement.

"Instead of extending good services and assistance, certain foreign factors, especially those from West Europe, are trying to impose themselves as arbiters, resorting to blackmail, ultimatums and sanctions. In doing so, they do not heed the international legal principlpes upon which their institutions too, are based," it is said in the information.

The Presidency assesses that a number of European Community (EC) countries, just as some of Yugoslavia's neighbours, are trying to materialize and prove "the nonexistence of Yugoslavia any longer," as a result of which "the urgent need" to recognize the independence of the Yugoslav republics becomes "logical."

The information says that the introduction of economic sanctions against Yugoslavia "instead of assistance, represents a show of force and pressure" and may "broaden and intensify Yugoslavia's crisis."

EC economic sanctions against Yugoslavia were adopted in Rome on Friday [8 November] because of what was said to be the continuation of armed conflicts and the failure to accept the EC peace plan.

Court Probes Constitutionality of Croatia Moves

LD1411174391 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1606 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 14 (TANJUG)—At the Federal Government's request, the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia today started the procedure to establish whether or not the decision by the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia to sever its public-law ties with Yugoslavia is in conformity with the Federal Constitution.

On October 8, the Croatian parliament adopted a decision severing Croatia's public-law ties with Yugoslavia, denying legitimacy and legality to all federal bodies and not recognizing any act by any organ acting in the name of the federation.

The Yugoslav Government also asked the court to assess the constitutionality of about 80 laws enacted by the Croatian parliament, empowering the republican authorities to themselves regulate the areas within the competence of the federation.

The government holds that the court should ban the application of disputed Croatian legal regulations until their constitutionality was established.

Government Seeks Legal Action Against Parties

LD1411214691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1922 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 14 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Government today assigned the Federal Secretariats for Justice and Internal Affairs and competent authorities of the Republic of Serbia with taking legal action against certain political parties which resort to threats and disqualification of some officials.

A statement issued after the Federal Government session condemned a statement by Ljubisa Petkovic, a member of the leadership of the Serbian Radical Party, an influential opposition party in Serbia.

"If the security service of Serbia does not arrest the Federal prime minister, Ante Markovic, the Serbian Radical Party will, since it can easily transfer him to regions where there is no rule of law," the Federal Government cited Petkovic as saying.

Petkovic told a news conference in Belgrade today that Prime Minister Ante Markovic was responsible for the import of arms for the needs of Croatian para-military formations, for being involved in the genocide against the Serbian people, for squandering funds and impoverishing the Republic of Serbia.

The Federal Government statement added that Petkovic also made slandrous remarks about the Federal defence minister, General of the Army Veljko Kadijevic, and his deputy, Admiral Stane Brovet, at his news conference today.

Parties Urge Forming of Salvation Government

LD1511062991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1913 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Belgrade, November 14 (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Yugoslav Socialist Democratic Party and the Party of Yugoslavs urged at a press conference on Thursday [14 November] the forming of a provisional government of national salvation of Yugoslavia.

"Neither the Yugoslav Government nor the Federal Presidency are legitimate," assessed the representatives of the two parties, which rally Yugoslav-oriented citizens.

At a meeting earlier in the day, they launched an initiative for the unification of all Yugoslav-oriented parties into a single democratic political organization and protested against the current media war and the media's promotion of nationalist and extremist parties in Yugoslavia.

"As the national issue cannot be settled, we opt for a civil society and a Yugoslavia made up of regions, in which nationality would be of minor importance and which would build a healthy economy," said the two parties' representatives.

Croatia

Republic Rejects EC Plan Point on Referendum

LD1411195591 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1732 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Bonn, Nov 14 (TANJUG)—Information Minister of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Branko Salaj stated today that Croatia was rejecting a referendum of Serbs in this Yugoslav republic, and which should be called according to the latest plan of the European Community (EC).

Salaj told German radio in an interview today that such a voting "is not acceptable to Croatia, if it jeopardizes its territorial integrity."

The latest plan of the EC, as learned, provides for a lasting and stable cease-fire, the arrival of a United Nations peacekeeping force in Croatia and its deployment in the Serb-populated areas, the withdrawal of Federal Army (JNA) units, and the organization, under an international control, of a referendum of the Serbs in Croatia who would vote on whether they want to live in a new independent Croatian state.

Around 600,000 Serbs in Croatia contribute 12.5 per cent to this Yugoslav republic's total population.

Radio Reports Army Enters Downtown Vukovar

AU1511151591 Belgrade Radio Belgrade Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] We have just received a report from Vukovar. The Guard units of the Yugoslav People's Army have entered the very center of Vukovar and control the Vuka River and all three downtown bridges. The enemy is fleeing on both sides of the Vuka like chickens with their heads cut off.

Defense Minister Susak Interviewed on Conflict

PM1511144091 Paris LE MONDE in French 15 Nov 91 pp 1, 3

[Report on an interview with Croatian Defense Minister Gojko Susak by Yves Heller in Zagreb; date not given]

[Text] Zagreb—Mr. Gojko Susak was categorical: "If a decision was made to bring peacekeeping forces to Croatia, they could only be deployed on the existing borders, the legitimate borders between the republics; that is the only possibility." And to ensure that there is no ambiguity about Zagreb's position at a time when Croatian President Franjo Tudjman is engaged in preliminary talks, especially with Lord Carrington, to promote the idea of a UN presence in Yugoslavia, the defense minister was anxious to stress that "this is something that Croatia requested well before Serbia."

The recent Serbian request for blue helmets, Mr. Susak, who has been Croatian defense minister since September, asserted, "did not surprise us because the Army has invaded a great deal of territory, and it thinks that now is the time to request foreign aid because the crisis in Serbia is merely growing worse, and it is obvious that the latter will eventually lose this war. They (the Belgrade military—LE MONDE editor's note) are now, therefore, requesting UN aid to avoid having to withdraw from these territories."

With regard to the composition of a UN force capable of restoring peace, Mr. Susak did not want to create any illusions: "We cannot hope that the United Nations will send a real army capable of facing the Federal Army. That would be unreasonable. But if they (the blue helmets) were to come, that in itself would be a very clear message for Serbia—that the international community will not tolerate force." Croatia certainly does not plan to request large forces, and the minister said he is "convinced that, if a single ship of the (American—LE MONDE editor's note) Sixth Fleet had come to Dubrovnik, the Army would never have done what it did." However, so far, "neither the United Nations nor Europe has adopted a very clear stance...."

"If the United Nations were to adopt a stance," Mr. Susak continued, "the first thing to be done would be to name the aggressor. Europe has already done that to some extent, but still not clearly enough."

With regard to the conditions for deploying a UN force, Mr. Susak was equally categorical about its positioning: "The Federal Army would no longer have the choice (after the arrival of the blue helmets—LE MONDE editor's note)—the Croatian Republic is demanding that it withdraw and guarantees that it will be able to withdraw from Croatian territory in peace. For the past year, we have been asking the international community to send any commission or force to Croatian territory to verify on the spot whether the Serbs are really threatened, whether they are really in danger, and to find out where the threat lies."

Following the withdrawal of the Federal Army and the deployment of a UN force on Croatia's borders, "it would not be necessary for the Croatian forces to reconquer" the territory currently held by the Serbian separatists and the Army where, according to Mr. Susak, there are only a minority of "terrorists," the vast majority of Serbs in those regions having been "forced" to fight.

The minister said that it would then be up to the Croatian police to intervene "to restore order...." "In the current war zones, only 15 percent of the population are Serbs. There are more Serbs living in Zagreb than in Krajina. If the Army withdrew, there would only be small groups of terrorists who would have the choice of staying and dealing with the police or fleeing with the Army." At the same time, Mr. Susak said, elections would be held in Croatia—after the withdrawal of the Federal Army—that would enable the minorities "to choose their deputies." "And, wherever the Serbs are in a majority, the Croatian Republic would guarantee them all the rights recognized in Europe for minorities," the defense minister stressed.

Risk of the Conflict Spreading

Expressing regret that the international community has shown indifference to the risks of the conflict spreading since the start of the crisis, Mr. Susak said that the danger is now imminent. "The situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina is perfectly clear: The Muslims and Croatians are still holding back from joining the war, but there is no doubt that they will not accept this war of aggression by Serbia; they will not accept losing territories.... Serbia has already proclaimed six autonomous Serbian regions in Bosnia-Hercegovina.... However, the United Nations and Europe have so far been perfectly clear in stating that no border changes will be recognized, especially not border changes brought about by force, which is the case here. And Bosnia is entirely with us, is of the same opinion as us."

And Mr. Susak hammered home his point: "You must understand what the world at present does not understand: In western Hercegovina, 98 percent of the population is Croatian, and we do not aspire to reconquer that territory, because Croatia has always said it respected the existing borders. I was born in Hercegovina, and you cannot imagine the pressure that exists there at present. We are perfectly aware that there are three nations on the territory of Bosnia-Hercegovina that are and will be obliged to find a common mode of existence. That is only possible if Serbia is forced to abandon its ideas of territorial conquest; and that could be achieved in two ways—either the United Nations is rapidly brought in or—and unfortunately it is not a question of months or weeks, but of days—the same thing will start in Bosnia-Hercegovina (as is happening in Croatia—LE MONDE editor's note). Because it is impossible to go on tolerating what the Serbs are doing. And if that happened, there would immediately be repercussions on Kosovo. There would therefore be war."

If the situation deteriorated, could Croatia take the war into Serbia, as Stipe Mesic, the (Croatian) president of the federation, recently suggested? "No, there is no question of that. We cannot ask something of the international community and at the same time violate its rules," the defense minister asserted, and he said that, under pressure from a section of the population and from the Croatian military to take the war into Serbia, the Zagreb Government thinks that such an initiative would have "a negative effect" on Croatia—whatever the military result might be. According to Mr. Susak, the main result would be to enable the Belgrade regime to mobilize the Serbian population on a large scale.

On the other hand, if the Belgrade Army does not withdraw from Croatia, and if the United Nations does not intervene, the Croatian forces will launch a counter-offensive to recover the territories conquered by the Serbian military and the separatists, Mr. Susak said, and he said that the Croatians are capable of launching attacks on several fronts. In this connection, the minister said that the "war zones" now cover 40 percent of Croatian territory.

"The so-called Federal Army, which is in fact Serbian, is not capable of keeping the territories that it has invaded. It can continue to do what it has done in Dubrovnik or Vukovar—bomb and destroy—but it cannot keep those territories. In the Dubrovnik region, there are fewer than 5 percent of Serbs.... It is true that the inhabitants of the area around Dubrovnik have taken refuge in Dubrovnik itself, but it cannot be denied that 95 percent of the population is Croatian," Mr. Susak stressed, and he holds the view that the regions that have had to be evacuated by the Croatians "are buffer zones or battlefields from which the civilians have fled. But, for instance, the fact that the inhabitants (of the region) have withdrawn to Zadar (on the Adriatic coast) does not mean that that territory has been lost, on the pretext that it is currently uninhabited."

"Prepared for Hell"

While taking a moderate tone, Mr. Susak nonetheless criticized the European attitude and, in particular, the decision by the Twelve to decree an embargo on arms supplies to Yugoslavia, which he regards as unfair. "Only Croatia is feeling the effects of the embargo on arms supplies to Yugoslavia. For 45 years, Croatia paid for the weapons that are now being turned against it. And this (Federal—LE MONDE editor's note) Army, on the pretext of protecting a population and wishing to preserve Yugoslavia, is using these arms against Croatia. Last year, after the elections (in April 1990—LE MONDE editor's note) we only had 3,000 guns held by the Croatian police. We have now been forced to borrow (from the Army—LE MONDE editor's note) some of the weapons for which we paid for 45 years."

With regard to the Croatian forces' current needs, the minister mentioned air defense and antitank weapons,

stating that Zagreb is only seeking defensive not offensive weapons. "We (the Croatian Government—LE MONDE editor's note) have the duty to arm the population, to resist, to prevent a bloodbath," given the war of aggression that we are facing.

In addition, the international community—whose "language is still too polite for them" (the Serbs—LE MONDE editor's note) to understand—is making our position even more difficult by always using the terms Yugoslavia and Federal Army —which the generals interpret in their own way, namely that they are allowed to intervene." However, "there are now only Serbs" in the Federal Army, Mr. Susak added, "aside from the thousands of prisoners of war who the generals refuse to allow to leave. There are 6,000 Croatian recruits in Serbia at present who are not allowed to leave although they have completed their military service. The same is true of Muslims, Macedonians who they (the military—LE MONDE editor's note) are not releasing and who can certainly be called prisoners."

In addition, the minister explained, when the Croatians "showed signs of goodwill by lifting the blockade on some barracks, as in Rijeka," the military still did not lift the siege of Dubrovnik and Vukovar, despite the agreements reached. Despite the violence of the Army's attacks on Vukovar, Mr. Susak was relatively confident about the Croatian forces' ability to defend that city, which he thinks will not fall. It is hell in Dubrovnik and Vukovar, he said, "but we are psychologically prepared for hell."

Pula Agreement Ensures Military Withdrawal

LD1411213991 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Representatives of municipal authorities and of the naval sector command, in the presence of EC observers, signed an agreement in Pula on the conditions under which members of the naval sector will pull out from this area. City authorities have guaranteed unhampered departure of all army members and their families. Civilian personnel employed by the former Yugoslav Army and army pensioners who remain in the Pula and Istria area are guaranteed full personal security, protection of private property, and all other civic rights. In return, the command of the Pula garrison guarantees, says the agreement, full security for Pula and Istria citizens and a promise that no armed force will be used on Istrian land and in Istrian waters. In addition, the command of the Pula naval sector has committed itself to removing and dismantling all explosive devices in the barracks and military facilities and institutions and on the day of departure handing over territorial defense weapons of all Istrian municipalities.

Knin Corps, Authorities Agree on Pullout

LD1411214391 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1913 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Knin, 14 Nov (TANJUG)—Representatives of the Knin Corps and the Croatian authorities of Sibenik agreed today to evacuate the Army forces and their technical and combat equipment from this town.

This agreement was signed in Zitnic village, near Drnis, by Major General Vladimir Vukovic, commander of the Knin corps, and Josip Juras, president of the Sibenik government, on behalf of the Croatian authorities. Today's agreement should be verified by the chief of general staff of the SFRY Armed Forces and Croatia's general staff.

Army, Dubrovnik Representatives Meet on Conflict

LD1411215291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1950 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Zelenika, 14 Nov (TANJUG)—The ship Slavija-1, carrying over 3,000 refugees from Dubrovnik, as well as members of the EC mission and representatives of the Dubrovnik authorities, tonight entered Zelenika port.

In the presence of the EC mission members, the representatives of the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] and the Dubrovnik authorities then held talks in the Customs House on consolidating the cease-fire agreed yesterday in the zone of Dubrovnik and on the conditions for establishing a permanent peace and normalizing life in this area.

After tonight's round of talks, Captain Bozidar Celebic, representative of the JNA, and Dr. Nikola Obuljan, member of the Dubrovnik delegation, told journalists that they brought the respective standpoints closer together, but there were still differences on the so-called control points of the limits and the question of the regime in Dubrovacka Rijeka.

Both sides expressed readiness to continue the talks.

Republic Gives Instructions to War Zone Reporters

LD1511080491 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0116 GMT 15 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, Nov 14 (TANJUG)—The Croatian Ministry of Information on Thursday [14 November] night published instructions for reporting from the war zones, among others banning the "collection and publication of certain information."

The instructions specify that the reporters are not to collect and publish information on the numerical strength and organization of the military forces, the position of military units, their armament and ammunition, planned operations and military transports and supplies.

The instructions come after the Croatian parliament last Saturday [9 November] endorsed an order issued by republican President Franjo Tudjman on censoring information by domestic and foreign reporters. Under the order, any reporter who publishes information about the Croatian Armed Forces without authorization faces a sentence of up to five years' imprisonment.

The latest instructions specify that a reporter may report from the front only if accredited by the Croatian Ministry of Information and with a permit issued by the "information service of the Croatian Army command." In order to tour a war zone, a reporter may be required to be accompanied by an official of that service, the instructions add.

The Croatian ministry warns that "competent bodies have the right to go through reporters' notes, film footage and sound recordings" and confiscate them with a receipt, "if they should contain [word indistinct] military information."

Ministry Threatens Action Against Party of Rights

LD1411202991 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1647 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, Nov 14 (TANJUG)—The Defence Ministry of Croatia threatened today that it would take "most energetic steps of criminal and other prosecution" against those in this Yugoslav Republic who do not respect the regulations on mobilization and who mobilize people on their own.

"Citizens, associations, parties, and others may not call citizens to mobilization or to joining armed forces because such acts are directly contradict the regulations contained in the constitution and the law on defence," it is stressed in an announcement by the Croatian Defence Ministry.

Member of the Executive Board of the ruling party, the Croatian Democratic Union (HDZ), Stjepan Seselj, told newsmen today that the Croatian Party of Rights (HSP) overnight distributed a public call to mobilization.

"All members of the HSP were called to report at once and leave for the frontline, and so were all those aged 18-60 and ready to fight for their homeland," said Seselj.

According to Seselj, this call was not only "illegal and anticonstitutional" but it also represented "an activity aimed against the intrerests of the Republic of Croatia."

The HSP, as an extreme nationalist party, does not accept any peace negotiations with the Federal Army and does insist on Croatia's independence.

The HSP leader, Dobrosav Paraga, asserts that his party keeps 40,000 people under arms.

Party Denies Call For Mobilization

LD1411203591 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1718 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, 14 Nov (TANJUG)—The Croatian Party of Rights [Hrvatska Stranka Prava (HSP)] and "the general staff" of its Croatian defense forces military wing claim in their special denial tonight that "they have not called for mobilization." Their denial, signed by HSP President Dobrosav Paraga and Chief of General Staff Ante Djapic, claims that this announcement was not signed. It is particularly pointed out that the HSP leadership is sending its volunteers on to the regular Croatian Army daily.

"This is why we are again calling on all volunteers and HSP members to call in, so we can post them, in agreement with the Defense Ministry, to units of the National Guard and the Croatian Army to defend Vinkovci, Vukovar, etc."

Authorities Appoint Two New Leadership Advisers

LD1411223791 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1847 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Zagreb, Nov 14 (TANJUG)—The former secretaries for development and finance in the Yugoslav Federal Government of Prime Minister Ante Markovic have been appointed advisers to Prime Minister Franjo Greguric of the Yugoslav Republic of Croatia, as announced in the Croatian capital of Zagreb today.

Former Federal Secretary for Development Bozo Marendic and former Federal Secretary for Finance Branko Zekan were appointed advisers to the Croatian prime minister by the Croatian Government at its latest session.

The Croatian Government said in explanation of its decision that Marendic and Zekan "will be able, with their knowledge and rich experience, to contribute to a qualitatively better preparation of documents adopted by the Croatian Government."

Serbia

Jovanovic Criticizes EC Sanctions Move

LD1411185291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1632 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Athens, Nov 14 (TANJUG)—The European Community (EC) economic sanctions against Yugoslavia are not in conformity with the ideas and principles of The Hague conference, Serbian Foreign Minister Vladislav Jovanovic assesses in an interview to the Greek ANA news conference monitored in Greek papers today.

The sanctions, says the minister, will bear long-term effects on Yugoslavia, especially Serbia.

"Serbia appears to be the target," but, Jovanovic added, "we do not see why this is so, as we have not provoked a war, we do not jeopardize (territorial) integrity of Yugoslavia, we have not taken unilateral secessionist steps, nor have we undermined peace efforts."

The minister welcomed Greece's and some EC members' "successful resistance, at least so far, to the pressures being brought to bear by other member countries, particularly Germany, and, their avoiding any big mistakes as would be the full support to the breakaway republics of Yugoslavia."

Pro-government paper ELEVTHEROTIPIA carries the interview as part of its comment headlined "Serbia Thanks Greece." It points to "Belgrade's disappointment due to a remarkably one-sided stand of some strong partners (in the European Community) who want to strengthen their own interests in the Balkans in the name of the nations' right to self-determination."

The same paper understands that Jovanovic asserts that his government and the Federal Army are not on the positions of "attackers."

Referendums Fail To Take Place in Senta, Ada

LD1511070191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1705 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Kanjiza, 14 Nov (TANJUG)—Following a decision by the Serbian Constitutional Court, the referendum launched by the Senta Municipal Assembly under the pressure of organized protests against the mobilization a week ago did not take place today.

The illegal and unconstitutional referendum for or against war in the neighboring Ada municipality, set for 15 November, will not take place either.

Criminal proceedings against the organizers of last week's protests have been made in Senta and Ada on the basis of reports submitted by the Intermunicipal Secretariat for Internal Affairs. In both cases, the protest organizers are charged with a breach of the provisions of the law on public meetings of the citizens of the Republic of Serbia, because they did not register the holding of the protest meetings within the specified time. For this offense, the law envisages fines up to 600 dinars or imprisonement up to 60 days.

Bosnia-Hercegovina

Deputies May Not Participate in Assembly Session

LD1511001191 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1610 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 14 Nov (TANJUG)—Delegates from Bosnia-Hercegovina to the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly held today a meeting behind closed doors at which, TANJUG has learned, they should have agreed on their participation in tomorrow's session of the Federal Chamber.

The meeting, as TANJUG learns, produced no final conclusion, so the coordinator of delegates from Bosnia-Hercegovina, Ibrahim Hadzic, acquainted the president of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, Bogdana Glumac-Levakov, with the proposals put forward by the delegates. [passage omitted]

The delegates from Bosnia-Hercegovina also debated the final standpoint of the Legislation and Justice Commission which had been refused by its member from Bosnia-Hercegovina Borisav Krajina. Dissatisfied with the outcome, he announced at the session that there was a possibility of Bosnia-Hercegovina's delegates not being present at tomorrow's session of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly.

Mostar Assembly Discusses Political System

Municipality Proclaimed 'Open Town'

LD1511003591 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 2100 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Mostar Assembly councillors have proclaimed their town to be a demilitarized zone and an open town. It was decided to set in motion an initiative for the international recognition of Mostar as an open town without any weapons. The councillors also approved a draft decision on preserving the political system and the integrity of Bosnia-Hercegovina. Following a very noisy debate, the assembly, the councillors of the Serbian Democratic party being against, approved a motion giving full support for the presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina concerning the mobilization issues and a motion saying that only the mobilization proclaimed by the Presidency and in the function of the defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina is acceptable. A motion on providing expert and material aid for Dubrovnik was approved, as well.

Referendum Proposal Rejected

LD1511072491 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1503 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Excerpts] Mostar, 14 Nov (TANJUG)—During its session today the Mostar Assembly did not accept a proposal made by the Mostar Intellectuals' Club to organize a plebiscite on whether or not people are against the war and mobilization into any military formation and on the presence of reservists from Serbia and Montenegro on Mostar territory. [passage

omitted] The Mostar Intellectuals' Club has made it know that they will now organize a plebiscite among the citizens of the Hercegovina center.

Muslim Party To Demand Formation of Army

LD1511072291 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1859 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Excerpt] Tuzla, 14 Nov (TANJUG)—Muhamed Filipovic, vice president of the Muslim Bosniak Party, tonight announced in Tuzla that at the next session of the republican parliament his party will demand the formation of a Bosnia-Hercegovina army.

"What is happening can no longer be tolerated," Filipovic said. According to him, "the present situation in Bosnia and Hercegovina is jeopardizing the life of its citizens." He added that the Yugoslav People's Army has occupied this republic. [passage omitted]

Montenegro

Assembly Refuses To Discuss Presidency Recall

LD1411180691 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1524 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Titograd, November 14 (TANJUG)—The parliament of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro on Thursday [14 November] refused to discuss the recall of the republic's representative on the Federal Presidency from the post of its vice-president, as proposed by the opposition Alliance of Reformist Forces for Montenegro.

In explanation of the request, the party said that "Kostic's political activity is contrary to the interests of Montenegro."

The republican parliament turned down the reformists' proposal "with a majority vote."

Another opposition party, the Liberal Alliance of Montenegro, also requested on Wednesday [13 November] that Kostic be recalled, while the Serbian Renewal Movement, the strongest opposition party in the Republic of Serbia, demanded the resignations of Kostic as well as the three "Serbian" members on the Federal Presidency.

Both parties are dissatisfied with the Presidency's activities as the supreme commander of the Yugoslav Armed Force.

Since early October, the sessions of the eight-member Yugoslav Presidency have been attended only by the representatives from the Republics of Montenegro and Serbia, and Serbia's two provinces, Kosovo and Vojvodina.

Macedonia

Republic Faces 'Dramatic Constitutional Crisis'

VMRO Protests Continue

AU1411210391 Belgrade RTV Sat TV in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Report by Dragan Stojanovic from Skopje]

[Text] The constitutional crisis in Macedonia is assuming dramatic proportions. The session of the Macedonian Assembly was not held today and has been postponed until 0900 GMT tomorrow. This was stated in a communique from the information service of the Macedonian parliament.

The reason for the postponement of the session, which was supposed to continue discussion on the new republican constitution, is the protest by members of the VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization], who gathered in front of the Assembly building at midday. The Assembly Presidium claims that this is a kind of political pressure on the deputies and the parliament. In this way the Presidium is indicating that the Assembly will not function and make decisions when demonstrations are held in front of the parliament.

About 3,000 members of the VMRO from various towns in Macedonia, including Strumica, Gostivar, and Ohrid, gathered in front of the Macedonian Assembly building. They demanded the resignation of the republican leadership, especially Assembly President Stojan Andov, shouting various slogans: Communists have betrayed Macedonia; Macedonia with the Macedonian army; Gligorov, what happened to your promises?

At one point the demonstrators threatened our television team, demanding that our cameras and equipment be taken. A group of the most extreme demonstrators tried to break into the building, but were prevented from doing that by numerous militiamen.

Because of everything that is happening here it is not certain when and how the constitutional blockade of Macedonia will end. We have unofficially learned that members of the Albanian parties are planning to hold a protest tomorrow. Members of an Albanian party, the National Democratic Party, threatened today in a statement in NOVA MAKEDONIJA, that if the new constitution is adopted they will establish the autonomous region of western Macedonia themselves.

We have also unofficially learned that Kiro Gligorov, president of the republic, will address the nation tonight and propose to withdraw his initiative for the adoption of the constitution. If this happens, Macedonia will face a parliamentary crisis, that is, new elections.

Coalition Leader Addresses Group

LD1511001291 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2135 GMT 14 Nov 91

[Text] Skopje, November 14 (TANJUG)—Over 5,000 people are demonstrating outside the Macedonian parliament building in Skopje this evening, demanding the immediate adoption of a new constitution and the resignation of the republican leadership, mainly President Kiro Gligorov and parliament President Stojan Andov.

The demonstrators tried several times to break through the police cordon and metal obstacles and enter the parliament building.

Some of the demonstrators, mainly Macedonians from western parts of the republic, are very militant and are chanting anticommunist and anti-Albanian slogans.

The majority population in western Macedonia are ethnic Albanians, who make up some 20 percent of the republic's two million population, according to the 1981 census.

Dimitar Crnomarov, the vice-president of the VMRO-DPMNE [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization-Democratic Party for Macedonian Unity] coalition party, addressed the demonstrators. He said that his party would not abandon its demand that the only holder of sovereignty in the republic be the Macedonian people.

A group of demonstrators took down the republican flag, which has a five-pointed star, and hoisted a flag under which the first Macedonian political party, VMRO, organized a liberation movement against the Turks late in the 19th century.

As a result of the demonstrations, today's parliament session which was to adopt the new constitution, has been postponed for tomorrow.

The Macedonian parliament was to have adopted the new constitution last Monday, but the session was adjourned because of opposing stands between deputies of the VMRO-DPMNE and ethnic Albanians.

The former asked that Macedonia be declared the "state of origin of the Macedonian people and all citizens living in it", while the latter insisted on the inclusion of the formulation that Macedonia is also the "state of the Albanian people" and for this reason walked out of the session.